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OPPOSE U.S. OCCUPATION OF TAIWAN AND "TWO CHINAS" PLOT

A SELECTION OF IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS

OPPOSE U.S. OCCUPATION OF TAIWAN AND "TWO CHINAS" PLOT

(A Selection of Important Documents)

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EDITOR'S NOTE

This booklet is a collection of important documents published in China on opposing the armed occupation of Taiwan by the United States and its plot to create "two Chinas." It is in three parts: Part I contains basic documents concerning China's policy in opposing occupation of China's territory Taiwan by the United States and its plot to create "two Chinas"; Part II contains important documents on opposing the United States scheme to create a situation of "two Chinas" in international organizations and conferences; Part III contains documents on opposing the steps taken by certain countries to follow the United States in an attempt to create "two Chinas." These documents vigorously expose the political intrigue of the United States in persistently taking a hostile attitude towards the Chinese people, occupying Taiwan and creating "two Chinas," and set forth the just stand of the Chinese people. Taiwan is China's sacred territory. The Chinese people's will to liberate Taiwan is unshakable. The Chinese people have full right to recover their own territory Taiwan by all suitable means at a suitable time. The plot hatched by the United States to create "two Chinas" is doomed to failure.

In order to help the reader to get a better understanding of the question, we have reproduced from the Soviet monthly journal *International Affairs* (No. 1,

1958) an article entitled "A Conspiracy Against the Chinese People" by Kung Pu-sheng, Council Member of the Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs, at the end of this booklet as an appendix.

September 1958

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PART I

CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG'S ADDRESS AT THE EIGHTH MEETING OF THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT COUNCIL

(Excerpts from His Comment on International Situation)

June 28, 1950

The Chinese people had long ago declared that the affairs of all countries of the world should be run by the peoples of the respective countries themselves, and the affairs of Asia should be run by the peoples of Asia themselves and not by the United States. United States aggression in Asia will only arouse the extensive and resolute resistance of the peoples of Asia.

Only on January 5 this year Truman stated that the United States would refrain from interfering in Taiwan. Now he himself proves that his statement was false and he has torn to shreds all international agreements regarding U.S. non-interference in the internal affairs of China. This open exposure by the United States of its true imperialist face is beneficial to the people of China as well as the peoples of Asia.

There is no ground at all for U.S. intervention in the internal affairs of Korea, the Philippines, Vietnam and other countries. The sympathy of the people throughout China as well as the broad mass of the people throughout the world will be on the side of the victims of aggression and most certainly not on the side of U.S. im-

perialism. They will neither be bought by imperialism, nor cowed by it. Imperialism is outwardly strong but feeble within, because it has no support among the people. People throughout China and the world! Unite and prepare adequately to defeat any provocation made by U.S. imperialism!

FOREIGN MINISTER CHOU EN-LAI'S STATEMENT REFUTING TRUMAN'S STATEMENT OF JUNE 27, 1950

June 28, 1950

After instigating the puppet government of Syngman Rhee in South Korea to provoke civil war in Korea, President Truman of the United States of America made a statement on June 27, declaring that the United States Government had decided to prevent by armed force our liberation of Taiwan.

On Truman's order, the U.S. Seventh Fleet has moved to the coast of Taiwan.

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I declare that Truman's statement of June 27 and the action of the U.S. navy constitute armed aggression against the territory of China and are a gross violation of the United Nations Charter. This violent, predatory action by the United States Government comes as no surprise to the Chinese people but only increases their wrath, because the Chinese people have, over a long period, consistently exposed all the conspiratorial schemes of U.S. imperialism to commit aggression against China and seize Asia by force. In his statement, Truman merely discloses his premeditated plan and puts it into practice. In fact the attack by the puppet Korean troops of Syngman Rhee on the Korean Democratic People's Republic at the instigation of the

United States Government was a premeditated move by the United States, designed to create a pretext for the United States to invade Taiwan, Korea, Vietnam and the Philippines. It is nothing but a further act of intervention by U.S. imperialism in the affairs of Asia.

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I declare that, no matter what obstructive action U.S. imperialists may take, the fact that Taiwan is part of China will remain unchanged for ever. This is not only a historical fact; it has also been confirmed by the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations and the situation since the surrender of Japan. All the people of our country will certainly fight as one man and to the end to liberate Taiwan from the grasp of the U.S. aggressors. The Chinese people, who have defeated Japanese imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek, the hireling of U.S. imperialism, will surely succeed in driving out the U.S. aggressors and in recovering Taiwan and all other territories belonging to China.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China calls on all peoples throughout the world who love peace, justice and freedom, and especially on all the oppressed nations and peoples of the East, to rise as one and halt the new aggression of U.S. imperialism in the East. Such aggression can be completely defeated if we do not yield to threats but resolutely mobilize the broad mass of the people to take part in the struggle against the war-makers. The Chinese people express their sympathy and respect for the peoples of Korea, Vietnam, the Philippines and Japan who are similarly victims of U.S. aggression and are similarly fighting against it. The Chinese people firmly believe that all the oppressed nations and peoples of the

East will certainly destroy the vicious and hated U.S. imperialist war-makers once and for all in the great flames of struggle for national independence.

APPENDICES

STATEMENT ON TAIWAN BY HARRY S. TRUMAN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

January 5, 1950

The U.S. Government has always stood for good faith in international relations. Traditional U.S. policy towards China, as exemplified in the Open Door policy, called for international respect for the territorial integrity of China. This principle was recently reaffirmed in the U.N. General Assembly resolution of December 8, 1949, which, in part, calls on all states "to refrain from (a) seeking to acquire spheres of influence or to create foreign-controlled regimes within the territory of China; (b) seeking to obtain special rights or privileges within the territory of China."

A specific application of the foregoing principles is seen in the present situation with respect to Formosa. In the joint declaration at Cairo on December 1, 1943, the President of the United States, the British Prime Minister and the President of China stated that it was their purpose that territories Japan had stolen from China, such as Formosa, should be restored to the Republic of China. The United States was a signatory to the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945, which declared that the terms of the Cairo Declaration should be carried out. The provisions of the Declaration were accepted by Japan at the time of its surrender. In keeping with these declarations, Formosa was surrendered to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and for the past four years the United States

and the other Allied Powers have accepted the exercise of Chinese authority over the island.

The United States has no predatory designs on Formosa or on any other Chinese territory. The United States has no desire to obtain special rights or privileges or to establish military bases on Formosa at this time. Nor does it have any intention of utilizing its armed forces to interfere in the present situation. The U.S. Government will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China.

Similarly, the U.S. Government will not provide military aid or advice to Chinese forces on Formosa. In the view of the U.S. Government, the resources on Formosa are adequate to enable them to obtain the items which they might consider necessary for the defence of the island. The U.S. Government proposes to continue, under existing legislative authority, the present Economic Co-operation Administration programme of economic assistance.

STATEMENT BY HARRY S. TRUMAN, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, ON ARMED INVASION OF KOREA AND TAIWAN

June 27, 1950

In Korea the Government forces, which were armed to prevent border raids and to preserve internal security, were attacked by invading forces from North Korea. The Security Council of the United Nations called upon the invading troops to cease hostilities and to withdraw to the 38th Parallel. This they have not done but, on the contrary, have pressed the attack. The Security Council called upon all members of the United Nations to render every assistance to the United Nations in the execution of this resolution. In these circum-

stances, I have ordered United States air and sea forces to give the Korean Government troops cover and support.

The attack upon Korea makes it plain beyond all doubt that communism has passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war. It has defied the orders of the Security Council of the United Nations issued to preserve international peace and security. In these circumstances, the occupation of Formosa by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to United States forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area.

Accordingly, I have ordered the Seventh Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa. As a corollary of this action, I am calling upon the Chinese Government on Formosa to cease all air and sea operations against the mainland. The Seventh Fleet will see that this is done. The determination of the future status of Formosa must await the restoration of security in the Pacific, a peace settlement with Japan, or consideration by the United Nations.

I have also directed that United States forces in the Philippines be strengthened and that military assistance to the Philippine Government be accelerated.

I have similarly directed acceleration in the furnishing of military assistance to the forces of France and the Associated States in Indo-China and the dispatch of a military mission to provide close working relations with those forces.

I know that all members of the United Nations will consider carefully the consequences of this latest aggression in Korea in defiance of the Charter of the United Nations. A return to the rule of force in international affairs would have far-reaching effects. The United States will continue to uphold the rule of law.

I have instructed Ambassador Austin, as the representative of the United States to the Security Council, to report these steps to the Council.

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S REPORT ON THE WORK OF THE GOVERNMENT

Delivered at the First Session of the First National People's Congress

(Excerpts)

September 23, 1954

In June 1950, the United States Government launched a war of aggression against Korea and at the same time occupied China's province of Taiwan, leaving the Chinese people no alternative but to launch their great movement to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea. In July 1953, the victorious struggle waged by the Chinese People's Volunteers and the Korean People's Army compelled the United States to accept an armistice. Now more than a year has elapsed and the United States Government still refuses to settle the Korean question peacefully.

Because of the truculent policy of sabotage pursued by the United States Government and the Syngman Rhee clique, the Geneva Conference failed to reach agreement on the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. But the Korean question is not off the agenda. The peace-loving countries and peoples of the world will not permit the Korean question to remain long unsettled. We are of the opinion that, following the example of the settlement of the Indo-China question at the Geneva Con-

ference, a conference with the participation of neutral Asian nations should be called to discuss once again the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, so as to achieve a speedy settlement of the question of peacefully unifying Korea in line with the principles of respecting the national rights of the Korean people and contributing to the defence of peace in Asia and the world.

The Geneva Conference, overcoming the obstruction put in its way by the United States Government, finally reached agreement on the question of restoring peace in Indo-China. The agreements reached at the Geneva Conference and the recent rejection of the "European Defence Community" treaty by the French National Assembly were victories for the forces of peace and defeats for the forces of war. This has brought about a further easing of international tension.

However, the United States and some Western nations have not given up their war policies. They unreasonably put forward pre-conditions on the European question, attempting to reject the proposals of the Soviet Union concerning the German question and the establishment of a European collective security system. Moreover, the United States and Britain are actively manoeuvring to drag West Germany into the military bloc of Western countries under another label. In Asia, the United States recently pulled together a conference of eight countries in Manila which concluded a so-called South-east Asia Collective Defence Treaty. This treaty shows that the purpose of the United States is to destroy the Geneva Conference agreements, organize a military alliance to split Asia, show its hostility to the People's Republic of China, interfere in the internal affairs of the Asian countries and create new tension. In my report

on foreign affairs made on August 11, 1954 to the Central People's Government Council, I indicated to all states concerned that the Chinese Government firmly opposes the formation of the so-called South-east Asia Treaty Organization by the United States aggressive group.

It should be pointed out that, with the exception of the three Asian countries which have concluded military aid agreements with the United States, none of the countries taking part in the so-called South-east Asia Collective Defence Treaty are located in Asia. Obviously what has been established through this treaty is nothing but a military alliance of colonial powers. This military alliance not only supports the United States policy of making China the main object of hostility in the Far East, but also facilitates United States aggression against Asian countries from various directions. With this treaty, on the pretext of non-existent "communist aggression," the United States can create division in Asia by spreading fears and apprehensions and instigating some Asian countries to oppose others. With this treaty, on the pretext of preventing and countering what it calls "subversive activities," the United States can interfere at will in the internal affairs of South-east Asian countries and suppress the national liberation movements in Asia. With this treaty, using the provisions for "economic measures," the United States can strip South-east Asia of strategic materials, enslave the peoples there and build up its own colonial rule. With this treaty, on the pretext that the region is "threatened by any fact or situation which might endanger the peace of the area," the United States can freely name any area as coming under its "protection," so as to extend its armed intervention to other parts of Asia. In fact, not only is the alleged

"danger of aggression" by China against Thailand, the Philippines and other countries of South-east Asia a sheer fabrication, but the view that normal diplomatic relations cannot be established between China and Thailand and between China and the Philippines is groundless. They are only pretexts used by the governments of Thailand and the Philippines to justify their action in serving the aggressive forces of the United States. From all this, it can be seen that through the military alliance formed under this treaty the colonialists are attempting to dictate the destiny of Asian countries and to trample upon the Asian peoples' right to self-determination. Such a treaty runs counter to the purpose and principles of the United Nations Charter. The chief countries of South-east Asia, such as India, Indonesia, Burma and Ceylon, treasuring their freedom and independence, all refused to take part in the Manila Conference. The Government of the People's Republic of China fully supports the just stand taken by these four countries and firmly opposes this military alliance which aims at splitting South-east Asia.

In an attempt to prevent the carrying out of the Geneva agreements concerning Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam, the states which signed the "South-east Asia Collective Defence Treaty" arbitrarily included Cambodia, Laos and the southern part of Vietnam in the area under their "protection." This attempt is fundamentally at variance with the commitments regarding Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam assumed by the states that participated in the Geneva Conference. It must be pointed out that all the countries which took part in the Geneva Conference on the restoration of peace in Indo-China are under obligation to guarantee strict implementation of the Geneva agreements. But soon after the

conclusion of the agreements, the United States organized a military alliance aimed at splitting South-east Asia and endangering collective peace. That is an open infringement of the Geneva agreements.

On September 14, 1954, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union issued a statement on the question of the "South-east Asia Collective Defence Treaty," pointing out that the states participating in this military alliance should bear the entire responsibility for their actions, which are in flagrant contradiction to the tasks of strengthening peace. This view is identical with that of the Chinese Government.

The policy of the colonial powers to dictate the destiny of Asian countries is incompatible with the independence and sovereignty of the Asian countries, and conflicts with the spirit of the Geneva agreements. The Asian countries need peace and co-operation, not war and hostility. The Asian countries should consult together and take every effective measure to promote collective co-operation, and should jointly strive to defend collective peace and security in Asia. This proposal of ours does not exclude any country outside Asia.

The U.S. aggressive group, which is pursuing a war policy, has not only organized the South-east Asia war bloc to intensify war preparations but is also trying hard to expand the war now in progress. It has tried to conduct armed intervention against China and menace Asia from three fronts — Taiwan, Korea and Indo-China. Now that the flames of war in Korea and Indo-China have been successively put out, the U.S. aggressive group is making more intensive use of the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek gang on Taiwan to enlarge the war of harassment and destruction against China's mainland and sea

coast in an attempt to step up its intervention against China and its menace to Asia.

Directed and assisted by the U.S. aggressive group, the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek gang is using Taiwan as its base to conduct increasingly desperate attacks against our coastal islands, bomb our coastal cities, rob our fishermen in the coastal areas, plunder and seize our merchant ships and the vessels of countries trading with China, and dispatch special agents to infiltrate the mainland for subversive activities. This traitorous gang is defrauding and victimizing the overseas Chinese, looting their property and tricking their sons into serving as cannon-fodder. This traitorous gang is stepping up its extortions on Taiwan and robbing the people of their wealth. It is reorganizing its military forces and clamouring to attack the mainland. It is bent upon provoking world war. That is why this gang is the public enemy not only of the Chinese people, but also of all peace-loving peoples in Asia and the world.

The United States Seventh Fleet still continues to occupy the Taiwan Straits. Recently, the United States Government declared its intention of using the Seventh Fleet to prevent the Chinese people from liberating Taiwan. The U.S. aggressive group is scheming to conclude a so-called bilateral mutual security treaty with the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek gang. At the same time, it is trying to combine the reactionary forces in Japan, the Syngman Rhee clique in South Korea and the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors into a so-called North-east Asia Defence Alliance, which it plans to link up with the "South-east Asia Treaty Organization." This series of conspiracies of the U.S. aggressive group is obviously directed against the six hundred million people of China.

It is a challenge to the Asian peoples and to international peace.

The Government of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly stated that Taiwan is China's sacred and inviolable territory and that no United States infringement or occupation will be tolerated. Our compatriots on Taiwan, including the Kaoshan people, have always been members of the great Chinese family of nationalities and their enslavement by the United States will never be tolerated. The liberation of Taiwan is China's sovereign right and internal affair and no interference by any foreign country will be tolerated. Both the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Declaration, to which the United States is a signatory, affirm that Taiwan is Chinese territory; no perfidious violation of these solemn international agreements by the United States is permitted. Any pact signed between the United States Government and the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek gang holding on to Taiwan is illegal. In this connection it must be pointed out that all proposals to place Taiwan under United Nations trusteeship or under neutral mandate, or to "neutralize" Taiwan or to create a so-called "independent Taiwan state," are attempts to carve up China's territory, enslave the Chinese people on Taiwan and legalize United States occupation of Taiwan. None of this will be tolerated by the Chinese people.

The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. As long as Taiwan is not liberated, China's territory is not intact, China cannot have a tranquil environment for peaceful construction, and peace in the Far East and throughout the world is not secure. On August 11, 1954, the Central People's Government Council passed a resolution urging all Chinese people and the Chinese People's

Liberation Army to redouble their efforts in all fields of work and strive to liberate Taiwan and eliminate the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek gang, so as to complete our people's sacred task of liberation. On August 22, all the democratic parties and groups and people's organizations of China issued a joint declaration on the liberation of Taiwan in response to this call of the Central People's Government. This is a manifestation of the unshakable common will of the six hundred million people of China.

In order to further reduce international tension, in order to eliminate the threat of war and safeguard world peace, we maintain that the United States fleet occupying the Taiwan Straits must be withdrawn, the legal status and rights of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations must be restored, the proposals for collective peace in place of war blocs must be realized, the plans for reviving Japanese and German militarism must be stopped, and the universal desire of the people throughout the world to reduce armaments and prohibit the use of atomic, hydrogen and other weapons of mass destruction must be satisfied. All this represents the common desire of the peace-loving peoples throughout the world.

Fellow Deputies! Our work of socialist construction and socialist transformation is a just cause. Our cause of liberating Taiwan, safeguarding the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country and defending peace in the Far East and the whole world is also a just one. Chairman Mao Tse-tung has said that a just cause is invulnerable to any enemy. Our just cause is able not only to unite the people of the whole country, but also to rally the support of all international friends.

FOREIGN MINISTER CHOU EN-LAI'S STATEMENT ON U.S.-CHIANG KAI-SHEK "MUTUAL SECURITY TREATY"

December 8, 1954

On December 2, 1954 the United States Government, disregarding the repeated protests and warnings of the Chinese people, concluded a so-called Mutual Security Treaty with the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang fugitive on Taiwan. The United States Government is trying, by means of this treaty, to legalize its armed seizure of Chinese territory of Taiwan, and make Taiwan a base for further aggression against China and the preparation for a new war. This act is a grave warlike provocation against the People's Republic of China and the Chinese people.

On behalf of the Government of the People's Republic of China, I hereby declare: Taiwan is China's territory, and Chiang Kai-shek is the public enemy of the Chinese people. To liberate Taiwan and liquidate the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors is entirely within the purview of China's sovereignty and a purely internal affair of China, and no interference by any foreign country will be tolerated. Threats of war cannot shake the determination of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan but can only heighten their indignation. The Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang has no authority whatsoever to conclude any treaty with any country. The "Mutual Security Treaty" concluded between the United States and Chiang Kai-

shek has no legal basis whatsoever and is null and void. This treaty is a betrayal of China's sovereign and territorial rights and the Chinese people oppose it resolutely. If the United States Government does not withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and the Taiwan Straits, and persists in interfering in China's internal affairs, it must take upon itself all the grave consequences.

The "Mutual Security Treaty" which the United States Government has entered into with the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang is, in every sense, a treaty of war and aggression. United States imperialism is hostile to the Chinese people. Refusing to reconcile itself to the defeat of its imperialist policy in China, the United States Government occupied Taiwan by armed force in June 1950 at the same time as it launched its war of aggression in Korea. Since then it has been shielding the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang and directing it in its uninterrupted war of harassment and destruction against the mainland and coastal islands of China. Now that the Korean war has ended, the United States Government no longer finds it possible to use that war as a pretext for the continued occupation of Taiwan. That is why it has come out openly and fabricated this U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek "Mutual Security Treaty" for the purpose of outright seizure of China's territories of Taiwan and the Penghu Islands.

The "Mutual Security Treaty" between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek cannot be called defensive in any sense; it is a treaty of naked aggression. The aggressive circles of the United States and those who follow them pretend that the treaty is defensive in character; but such a pretence cannot hide its aggressive nature in any way. Taiwan is China's territory. This is a fact

which the United States Government has recognized in such international agreements as the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations and the Instrument of Japanese Surrender, all of which bear its own signature. For the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan is an internal affair of China. Here too the United States Government, in January 1950, acknowledged China's exercise of her sovereign rights over Taiwan and declared its intention not to become involved in the civil conflict in China.

Now the United States Government is erecting fortifications and establishing military bases on the Chinese territories of Taiwan and the Penghu Islands, which are 5,000 miles away from the United States. It is shielding the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors which has been repudiated by the 600 million people of China. It is endeavouring to prevent the Chinese people from liberating their own territory of Taiwan. In so doing, the United States Government is committing flagrant violations of international good faith, seizing Chinese territory, infringing upon China's sovereignty and interfering in China's internal affairs — acts which can in no way be described as defensive. It is a genuine act of defence, on the other hand, for the Chinese people to liberate their own territory of Taiwan and to safeguard their national sovereignty and the territorial integrity of their country. The Japanese militarists, in their time, also represented their seizure of North-east China in 1931 as an act of self-defence. But nobody believed them. Everyone knows that to seize another country's territory, to infringe upon another country's sovereignty and to interfere in another country's internal affairs is to commit acts of aggression. The Chinese people, tempered in victorious struggle against the Japanese militarist aggres-

sion, will never tolerate United States aggression, undertaken under the name of "defence," against China's Taiwan and Penghu Islands.

The "Mutual Security Treaty" between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek is designed to extend aggression and prepare for a new war. It has nothing to do with the maintenance of peace. The aggressive circles of the United States, and those who follow them, are advancing all kinds of arguments to conceal the warlike purpose of this treaty. But this purpose cannot be concealed. It is well-known that since it undertook its armed aggression on Taiwan, the United States Government has been aiding and abetting the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang in its war of harassment and destruction against the Chinese mainland, and has never relaxed its efforts in this regard. By this treaty, the United States Government now attempts to legalize the occupation of Taiwan by its naval and air forces, and to secure the right to dispose its ground forces "in and about Taiwan and the Pescadores" with a view to strengthening its military base in Taiwan. By this treaty the United States Government openly attempts to use the threat of war to hinder the Chinese people from liberating Taiwan; and at the same time provides for further aggression against "other territories" of China. There can be no doubt that the signing of the "Mutual Security Treaty" between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek has increased the danger of the extension of the United States aggression against China.

In his statement on December 1, the United States Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, openly asserted that this treaty forms "another link" in the so-called system of security established by the United States in

the Pacific. This shows that the aggressive circles of the United States not only intend to occupy Taiwan and extend their aggression against China, but that they also intend to prepare a new war. The danger of war in South-east Asia has also been increased by the Manila treaty recently concluded under United States manipulation. It is clear that the aggressive circles of the United States are now trying to form a system of aggression in the East by linking the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek treaty with the Manila treaty and other war treaties in Asia and the Pacific region. These moves of the aggressive circles of the United States dovetail with their action in Europe, where they master-minded the conclusion of the Paris agreements to revive German militarism and expand the system of aggression in the West. Their aim is to deepen the division of the world, to enslave the peoples in these areas and to accelerate their preparations for a new world war.

All that has been said above shows that the aim pursued by the United States Government in this "Mutual Security Treaty" is not peace, but war. The aggressive circles of the United States are in fact copying the old tactics used by Japanese militarism in its aggression against China. Nevertheless, there are some who want the Chinese people to forget the lessons of history and accept as the status quo the U.S. occupation of Taiwan, just as they wish. But the Chinese people will never forget the calamities that ensued from the Mukden Incident of 1931; nor will they forget that the Lukouchiao Incident of 1937 was a sequel to the Mukden Incident. The peoples of Asia and of the Pacific, whose memory of the attack on Pearl Harbour in 1941 is still fresh, will also never forget how disastrous were the consequences

of the policy of appeasing Japanese militarist aggression. Similarly, the peoples of Europe will never forget that the Munich policy of giving rein to German militarist aggression, was precisely the thing that led to the Second World War. The mistakes of history must not be repeated. The Chinese people are firmly opposed to this U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek treaty for war which endangers the security of China and the peace of Asia. They are also firmly opposed to the Paris agreements which endanger the security of Europe and the peace of the world.

The "Mutual Security Treaty" between the United States and Chiang Kai-shek has created new tensions in the Far East. Nevertheless, there are some who maintain that this treaty will lead to an easing of tension in the Far East. This is the complete opposite of the truth. The United States Government undertook its armed occupation of Taiwan at the same time as it unleashed its war of aggression against Korea and intensified its intervention in the war in Indo-China. Hence from the very beginning this act has been part of the whole scheme to create tensions in the Far East.

Thanks to the armistice in Korea and the restoration of peace in Indo-China, the tense situation in the Far East began to relax. After the Geneva Conference, with a view to further reducing the tension in the Far East, we reaffirmed in clear terms that the United States should withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and the Taiwan Straits and stop interfering in China's internal affairs. But the United States Government, far from withdrawing all its armed forces from Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and the Taiwan Straits, directed the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors to become even more reckless in its war of harassment and destruc-

tion against the Chinese mainland. As a matter of fact, the incessant creation of tensions has been the consistent policy of the United States Government. For years the United States armed forces have repeatedly invaded China's territorial air and territorial waters. It is not the Chinese armed forces that have invaded the United States territorial air or territorial waters. The United States has dispatched spies to the Chinese mainland to carry out subversive activities. It is not China that has carried out subversive activities against the United States.

In the Korean armistice, the Korean and Chinese side faithfully implemented the Armistice Agreement and the agreement on the repatriation of prisoners of war. The United States side, on the other hand, violated the agreement on the repatriation of prisoners of war by forcibly retaining more than 20,000 Korean and Chinese prisoners of war and pressing them into the armies of Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek. Even up to now the United States side has not accounted for these 20,000 Korean and Chinese prisoners of war.

With regard to the restoration of peace in Indo-China, China has guaranteed the execution of the Geneva agreements. The United States, on the other hand, not only refused to join in guaranteeing the agreements, but on the contrary concluded the Manila treaty—and is now preparing to arm and train Bao Dai's troops for the purpose of undermining the Geneva agreements.

And now, in an attempt to increase the threat of war and create new tensions in the Far East, the United States Government has concluded its treaty of aggression and war with the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors. All the above facts show that the responsibility for the failure to

lessen the tension in the Far East rests entirely on the United States.

The United Nations Charter categorically forbids any infringement of the territorial integrity and political independence of any nation. This principle constitutes the basis of peace between nations. The treaty the United States Government has concluded with the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang, like other so-called treaties of defence engineered by the United States, includes a reaffirmation of faith in the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. But all these so-called treaties of defence are in their essence diametrically opposed to the purposes and principles which the United Nations Charter proclaims. These treaties can only lead to war. They cannot possibly promote peaceful co-existence between nations. These treaties make a mockery of the United Nations Charter. They cannot possibly contribute to the realization of the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter or the safeguarding of international peace.

By contrast, the People's Republic of China consistently upholds the principles of safeguarding the national rights of all peoples, and of mutual respect by all states for each other's national sovereignty and territorial integrity. The five principles of peaceful co-existence jointly advocated by China, India and Burma are in full accord with the purposes of the United Nations Charter. We hold the firm conviction that, so long as the nations of the world abide by the five principles, strive to establish and expand areas of peace, and refrain from creating division, states with different social systems can co-exist in peace and a world system of collective peace and security can be built up.

The Moscow Conference of European Countries which has just been concluded has exerted great efforts in this direction, and has won wide support from the peace-loving countries and peoples of the world. But the aggressive circles of the United States and those who follow them are doing all they can to undermine the five principles of peaceful co-existence and obstruct the establishment of a world system of collective peace and security. By these means they are steadily worsening the current international situation both in the East and the West. We hold that all peace-loving countries and peoples of the world are in duty bound to put an end to the deterioration in the international situation and to redouble their efforts for the safeguarding of international peace.

To this end, the Chinese people make the following declaration solemnly before the world:

Taiwan is China's territory. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. Only by liberating Taiwan from the tyranny of the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors can the Chinese people achieve the complete unity of their motherland and further safeguard the peace of Asia and the world. All proposals to set up a so-called "independent state" of Taiwan, to "neutralize" Taiwan or to place Taiwan under "trusteeship" mean, in practice, dismemberment of China's territory, infringement upon China's sovereignty and interference in China's internal affairs. All are therefore utterly unacceptable to the Chinese people.

In order to ease the situation in the Far East, eliminate the threat of war against China and safeguard peace in Asia and the world, the U.S. Government must withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and the Taiwan Straits. There is no justification what-

soever for the action of the United States in crossing vast oceans to occupy China's territory of Taiwan.

The Chinese people are resolutely opposed to war, but no threats of war will ever frighten them into submission. Should anybody insist on imposing war on the Chinese people, the Chinese people will, without fail, deal determined counter-blows to those who commit such acts of intervention and provocation.

The Chinese people fervently desire peace, but they will never beg for peace at the expense of their territory and sovereignty. To sacrifice territory and sovereignty can only lead to further aggression; it cannot possibly bring about genuine peace. The Chinese people understand that only by resisting aggression can peace be defended.

PREMIER AND FOREIGN MINISTER CHOU EN-LAI'S STATEMENT ON U.S. INTERFERENCE WITH THE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN BY THE CHINESE PEOPLE

January 24, 1955

The Government of the People's Republic of China has repeatedly and in solemn terms declared to the world: The Chinese people are determined to liberate their own territory of Taiwan. Since the recent successful liberation of Yikiangshan Island by the Chinese people, the United States Government has, on the one hand, stepped up its military operations to make war provocations, and has, on the other hand, been engineering a conspiracy for a so-called cease-fire through the United Nations to intervene in the Chinese people's liberation of Taiwan.

Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory. The liberation of Taiwan is a matter of China's sovereignty and her internal affair; no outside interference is allowed. Article 2, Paragraph 7 of the United Nations Charter explicitly stipulates: "Nothing contained in the present Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state or shall require the Members to submit such matters to settlement under the present Charter." Therefore, neither the United Nations nor any foreign country has the right to intervene in the Chinese

people's liberation of Taiwan. The Government of the People's Republic of China absolutely cannot agree to a so-called cease-fire with the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang whom the Chinese people have repudiated.

It should be pointed out that when the Chinese people exercised their sovereign rights, liberating the mainland and many coastal islands of China, this never caused any tension in the Far East. The present tension in the Taiwan area can be attributed only to the fact that the United States Government occupies Taiwan, shields the Chiang Kai-shek gang of traitors and carries on incessant subversive activities and war threats against the People's Republic of China. The so-called Mutual Security Treaty concluded between the United States Government and the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang has heightened this tension and is a serious threat to peace in the Far East. It is obvious that the source of this tension lies with the United States and not with China. This tension will disappear of itself as soon as the United States stops its intervention in China's internal affairs and withdraws all its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits.

The so-called cease-fire between the People's Republic of China and the Chiang Kai-shek traitor gang, which the United States Government and its followers are trying to engineer, is in fact an intervention in China's internal affairs for the alienation of China's territory. They are using war threats and brandishing atomic weapons in an attempt to force the Chinese people into tolerating the occupation of Taiwan by the United States, recognizing the United States-Chiang Kai-shek "Mutual Security Treaty" and permitting the United States to use Taiwan as a military base in preparing a new war. The Chinese people absolutely cannot tolerate this; they oppose it firmly.

To safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of China, to safeguard the security of China and peace in the Far East, the Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan, and the United States must stop intervening in China's internal affairs and withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits.

CABLE FROM PREMIER AND FOREIGN MINISTER CHOU EN-LAI TO U. N. SECRETARY-GENERAL OPPOSING THE NEW ZEALAND PROPOSAL TO INTERVENE IN CHINA'S INTERNAL AFFAIRS

February 3, 1955

Mr. Dag Hammarskjold,
Secretary-General,
United Nations,
New York, N.Y., U.S.A.

Also for transmission to Mr. Victor A. Belaunde, President of the Security Council.

Your cable dated January 31, 1955 transmitting information concerning the 690th meeting of the United Nations Security Council has been received.

The United States aggression against China's territory of Taiwan has all along been the source of tension in the Far East. Recently, after it concluded the so-called "Mutual Security Treaty" with the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique, the United States dispatched additional large units of naval and air forces to the area of Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits and openly made war threats and war provocations against the Chinese people in preparation for an extension of aggression against China, thereby further aggravating the tension in the Far East. In order to ease the tension in the Far East, eliminate the threat to the security of China, and put an end to the United

States aggression, the Government of the People's Republic of China fully supports the resolution submitted by the representative of the Soviet Union in the United Nations Security Council concerning the "acts of aggression by the United States of America against the People's Republic of China in the area of Taiwan and other islands of China" and is of the firm opinion that the United Nations Security Council should condemn the United States for its acts of aggression against China and call upon the United States to stop immediately its aggression against China and intervention in China's internal affairs and to withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits.

Taiwan, the Penghu Islands and other coastal islands are all inalienable parts of China's territory. The Chinese people's exercise of their own sovereign rights in liberating their own territory is entirely a matter of China's internal affairs and has never caused international tension, nor can it threaten international peace and security. But the representative of New Zealand proposed that the United Nations Security Council consider the "hostilities in the area of certain islands off the coast of the mainland of China" between the People's Republic of China and the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique. This is obviously to intervene in China's internal affairs and to cover up the acts of aggression by the United States against China, and is therefore in direct violation of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter. The Government of the People's Republic of China is firmly opposed to this proposal to intervene in China's internal affairs in violation of the United Nations Charter.

Since the United States occupied Taiwan in 1950, the People's Republic of China repeatedly lodged charges with the United Nations, demanding that the United Nations put an end to the acts of aggression against China by the United States. However, the United Nations never took any action on the righteous charges by the People's Republic of China; on the contrary, it repeatedly slandered the People's Republic of China. What is especially intolerable is the fact that the People's Republic of China, representing the six hundred million Chinese people, is up to now still deprived of its legitimate position and rights in the United Nations, while the representatives of a small handful of remnants of the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek clique, repudiated long ago by the Chinese people, continue to usurp the position of representing China in the United Nations. Such an extremely unjustified situation makes it impossible for the representative of the People's Republic of China to take part in discussions of questions concerning China in the United Nations.

Therefore, the Government of the People's Republic of China cannot send a representative to take part in the discussion of the New Zealand proposal in response to the invitation of the United Nations Security Council. At the same time, it must be pointed out that without the representative of the People's Republic of China participating in the name of China in the discussions of the United Nations Security Council, all decisions taken in the Security Council on questions concerning China would be illegal and null and void.

The Government of the People's Republic of China holds that only for the purpose of discussing the resolution of the Soviet Union and only when the representa-

tive of the Chiang Kai-shek clique has been driven out from the Security Council and the representative of the People's Republic of China is to attend in the name of China, can the People's Republic of China agree to send a representative to take part in the discussions of the Security Council.

The Government of the People's Republic of China consistently works for the easing of tension in the Far East and the safeguarding of international peace. The tension in the area of Taiwan was brought about by United States occupation of Taiwan and intervention in China's internal affairs. All genuine international efforts to ease and to eliminate the tension created by the United States in this area and in other areas of the Far East will receive the support of the People's Republic of China.

Chou En-lai
Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S SPEECH ON PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Delivered at the Second Session of the First National People's Congress

(Excerpts)

July 30, 1955

After the Korean armistice and the restoration of peace in Indo-China, the situation in the Taiwan area has become the most tense in the Far East. It must be pointed out that this tension has been caused by the United States occupation of China's territory of Taiwan and its interference with the liberation of China's coastal islands. This is an international issue between China and the United States. The exercise by the Chinese people of their sovereign right in liberating Taiwan is a matter of China's internal affairs. These two questions cannot be mixed up. During the Asian-African Conference, the Chinese Government already proposed that China and the United States should sit down and enter into negotiations to discuss the question of easing and eliminating the tension in the Taiwan area. There is no war between China and the United States; the peoples of China and the United States are friendly towards each other; the Chinese people want no war with the United States, so the question of cease-fire between China and the United

States does not arise. After the Asian-African Conference, the Chinese Government has further stated that there are two possible ways for the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan, namely, by war or by peaceful means. Conditions permitting, the Chinese people are ready to seek the liberation of Taiwan by peaceful means. In the course of the liberation by the Chinese people of the mainland and the coastal islands, there was no lack of precedents for peaceful liberation. Provided that the United States does not interfere with China's internal affairs, the possibility of peaceful liberation of Taiwan will continue to increase. If possible, the Chinese Government is willing to enter into negotiations with the responsible local authorities of Taiwan to map out concrete steps for Taiwan's peaceful liberation. It should be made clear that these would be negotiations between the central government and local authorities. The Chinese people are firmly opposed to any ideas or plots of the so-called "two Chinas."

In conformity with the principle of easing international tensions and settling international disputes through negotiation, the Chinese Government has taken a series of steps to relax the tension between China and the United States. These efforts of the Chinese Government have received warm welcome and support from world public opinion. Many countries have expressed their willingness to offer good offices between China and the United States. The Chinese Government welcomes the efforts of these countries and expresses its thanks.

On August 1, China and the United States will start talks in Geneva at the ambassadorial level. The purpose of these talks will be to aid in settling the matter of the repatriation of civilians of both sides, and to facilitate

further discussions and settlement of certain other practical matters now at issue between both sides.

In the past year, Sino-American talks at the consular level have been going on in Geneva, during which data concerning civilians of each country in the other were exchanged. So far as our side is concerned, we supplied promptly to the United States concrete data concerning American civilians in China. We are of the opinion that provided both sides are sincerely desirous of negotiation and conciliation, it should be possible in the forthcoming talks at the ambassadorial level to reach, first of all, a reasonable settlement of the question of the return of civilians to their respective countries. The number of American civilians in China is small, and their question can be easily settled. There are a great many overseas Chinese in the United States, among whom students alone number several thousands. Most of them have relatives on the Chinese mainland. The situation of the Chinese students is particularly inconsistent with humanitarian principles as they are obstructed from returning home while their relatives have no way to aid them financially. We are of the opinion that since there are no diplomatic relations between China and the United States at the present time, each of them can entrust to a third country the task of looking after the affairs of its civilians in the other country, and primarily the return of these civilians to their own country.

As stated in the press announcement agreed upon between both sides, the forthcoming Sino-American talks at the ambassadorial level should also "facilitate further discussions and settlement of certain other practical matters now at issue between both sides," so as to contribute to the relaxation of the tension between China and the

United States. Mr. Dulles, quoting the words of President Eisenhower, said at a press conference on July 26, 1955, that at the ambassadorial talks in Geneva the United States would follow the principle of working co-operatively with all peoples. If these words signify that the United States is prepared to co-operate with China, it should be possible for the Sino-American ambassadorial talks to make preparations for negotiations between China and the United States for relaxing and eliminating the tension in the Taiwan area.

The Chinese people are also concerned about the extremely unjust policy of blockade and embargo which obstructs trade between countries. It should be possible to remove such barriers so that peaceful trade between all countries will not be hindered.

The Chinese people would like to see the United States withdraw its armed forces from Taiwan and the Taiwan Straits, leaving Chinese territorial air free from any more intrusions and China free from any more threat of demonstrative war manoeuvres, so as to implement the stipulation in the United Nations Charter that "all members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations," and to vindicate Mr. Dulles' statement at the press conference on July 26, 1955 that "the United States believes that whatever may be the differences which now divide countries, these differences should not be settled by recourse to force where this would be apt to provoke international war."

The Chinese people demand that the foreign countries concerned put an end to the subversive activities against

China and to the dispatching of saboteurs into China to carry out activities in violation of Chinese law, so that the principle contained in the Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation adopted by the Asian-African Conference that "all nations should have the right freely to choose their own political and economic systems and their own way of life" may be upheld.

The Chinese people hope that the countries of Asia and the Pacific region, including the United States, will sign a pact of collective peace to replace the antagonistic military blocs now existing in this part of the world, so that the collective peace first advocated by the Indian Government may be realized.

We recognize that to fulfil the above wishes, it is necessary first of all that China and the United States should display sincerity in negotiations, that the two sides establish contacts to increase mutual understanding and trust. Only by efforts of both sides and reciprocal demonstration of goodwill, can the tension in the Taiwan area be relaxed and ultimately eliminated.

China for its part, in accordance with its consistent stand of striving for the relaxation of tension, will endeavour to make the forthcoming Sino-American talks at the ambassadorial level pave the way for further negotiations between China and the United States.

The Chinese Government and people will continue to strive indefatigably, as they did in the past, for a universal and lasting peace. However, if anybody should take our efforts as a sign of weakness or imagine that pressure or threats will have any effect on us, he will not only meet with the opposition of the people of the world, but quickly find out that his calculations are totally wrong.

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S SPEECH ON PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY, AND THE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN

Delivered at the Third Session of the First National People's Congress

(Excerpts)

June 28, 1956

During the past seven years, the Chinese people have achieved tremendous successes in the peaceful construction of their country. Our motherland is being transformed step by step from a poverty-stricken, backward agricultural country into a prosperous and powerful socialist industrial country. At the same time, China's international position has risen to unprecedented heights. China is playing an ever more important role in promoting the development of the entire international situation. It has become more and more difficult to ignore China's views in the settlement of many major international issues.

At present, 26 countries with an aggregate population in excess of one thousand million have already established diplomatic relations with our country. Still more countries and broader mass of people are maintaining trade and cultural relations with us. Clearly, it is already impossible for anyone to deny the reality that

the People's Republic of China exists and that it is growing ever stronger.

True, the United States is up to now still attempting to deny the Chinese people's right to choose their own state system, refusing to recognize the People's Republic of China and trying hard to exclude New China from participation in international affairs. However, as history has proved, budding forces which have broken through the old system will eventually grow mighty in spite of all obstructions. This was the case with the American War of Independence against colonial rule, with the French bourgeois revolution which overthrew feudal rule, and also with the Russian October Socialist Revolution which wiped out capitalist rule from one-sixth of the earth's surface. Those who today refuse to recognize New China had better review these historical facts.

Actually, although the United States does not recognize the People's Republic of China, a representative of the United States Government is nevertheless holding talks at Geneva with a representative of the Chinese Government. It is not difficult to see from this apparent contradiction that the real aim of the United States in refusing to recognize the People's Republic of China is to profit by using the Chiang Kai-shek clique in bargaining with China and in creating tension.

The strenuous efforts of the United States to exclude New China from participation in international affairs have not caused China any harm. On the contrary, by obstructing the restoration to the People's Republic of China of its legitimate position and rights in the United Nations, the United States has damaged the prestige of the United Nations and made it impossible for that organization to play effectively the role envisaged by its

Charter. The United States has also aroused the dissatisfaction of many countries by forcing them to refrain from establishing diplomatic relations with China, and accelerated their tendency to fall away from the United States. As for China, regardless of recognition or nonrecognition by the United States, it will all the same exist and develop with growing strength, its contacts with other countries will further increase, and its international position will further rise.

In the face of such undeniable and powerful facts, certain people are hatching a plot to create "two Chinas." They are vainly attempting to describe Taiwan as another China or as a separate independent state. But these vain attempts can only be interpreted as a sign of losing one's senses in the face of powerful facts. Taiwan has always been a part of China. Solemn international agreements have also long affirmed that Taiwan belongs to China. Even the Chiang Kai-shek clique also admits that Taiwan belongs to China. All Chinese people, including those on Taiwan, will never tolerate the detachment of Taiwan from their motherland.

Those who vainly seek to create "two Chinas" recognize that it is becoming more and more difficult to continue to exclude the People's Republic of China from international organizations and conferences. Therefore, they are attempting to create beforehand a state of "two Chinas" in international organizations and conferences. The Chinese people long ago saw through this plot. It is futile to hope that China will fall into this trap. International organizations and conferences are only one means of effecting international exchanges and contacts. China will not find it any more difficult to expand its contacts and connections with other countries because of

its being excluded from international organizations and conferences.

Only one China exists in the world. Only the Government of the People's Republic of China can represent the Chinese people. We believe that sooner or later this fact will receive general recognition in the world. The sooner this day arrives, the sooner will normal international relations be restored.

Now, I should like to report to the Congress on the situation in the Sino-American talks.

After agreement was reached on the return of civilians of both sides at the Sino-American ambassadorial talks in Geneva on September 10, 1955, the two sides entered into discussions on the question of renunciation of force. Up to now, nearly ten months have elapsed, but no agreement has yet been reached.

The Chinese side is not against the issuance jointly with the United States of an announcement on mutual renunciation of the use and threat of force in Sino-American relations. In fact, as early as during the Bandung Conference, China declared that the Chinese people do not want war with the United States and that the Chinese Government is willing to sit down and enter into negotiations with the United States Government on the question of easing and eliminating the tension in the Taiwan area. However, it must be pointed out that the tension in the Taiwan area was entirely created by the U.S. occupation by force of China's territory of Taiwan. Therefore, any announcement concerning the renunciation of the use of force between China and the United States must be capable of leading to the relaxation and elimination of the tension, and must not imply acceptance of the U.S. occupation of Taiwan. At the same time, the question

as to what means will be used by China to liberate Taiwan is entirely a matter of China's sovereignty and internal affairs, in which no outside interference will be tolerated. Therefore, a Sino-American announcement should in no way allow interference in this matter.

On the basis of the foregoing principles, the Chinese side has proposed two different forms for the announcement. If a statement is to be specifically included in the Sino-American announcement that the disputes between the two countries in the Taiwan area will be settled through peaceful negotiations without resorting to force, then it must also be explicitly provided that a Sino-American conference of the foreign ministers be held so as to implement this statement. Such is the draft put forward by the Chinese side on October 27, 1955. Alternately, China and the United States may first issue an announcement of principle that the disputes between the two countries will be settled by peaceful means without resorting to force, and then the ambassadors of the two countries would continue their talks to seek concrete means of realizing this common desire of the two sides. Such is the December 1, 1955 draft of the Chinese side. Recently, taking into consideration the view of the American side, the Chinese side again proposed on May 11, 1956 that while declaring in the announcement that the disputes between the two countries in the Taiwan area would be settled peacefully without resorting to force, the two countries should also lay down the provision that, within a definite period of the issuance of the announcement, they must seek and ascertain the means for the realization of this desire, including the holding of a Sino-American conference of the foreign

ministers. However, in spite of these proposals, the American side is still unwilling to come to an agreement.

Although the United States suggested that the principle of renunciation of force should be made specifically applicable to the Taiwan area, yet it is against providing for the holding of a Sino-American conference of the foreign ministers to realize this principle, and even refuses to agree to seek and ascertain, within a definite period of time, the means of settling peacefully the disputes between China and the United States. In addition, the United States even insists that it has a so-called "right of individual or collective self-defence" on China's territory of Taiwan. All this indicates that the United States is attempting to secure an announcement of sole advantage to itself, so that it could, on the one hand, maintain the present state of its occupation of Taiwan and, on the other hand, continue to interfere with the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese people. If it could not secure such an announcement, the United States would then attempt to drag out indefinitely the Sino-American ambassadorial talks in order to attain the same objective of freezing the status quo in the Taiwan area.

These attempts of the United States are precisely what block an agreement in the Sino-American talks up to now. China cannot agree to issue an announcement of sole advantage to one side; nor can it tolerate the use of the Sino-American talks by one side as a tool to achieve its unilateral aims. China maintains that any joint announcement must be advantageous to both sides, and that continuance of the Sino-American talks is possible only on condition that it is advantageous to both sides.

Finally, I wish to say something on the question of the liberation of Taiwan, about which we are all concerned.

The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. This is the unshakable common will of the 600 million people of China.

The Chinese Government has repeatedly pointed out that there are two ways for the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan, that is, by war or by peaceful means, and that the Chinese people would seek to liberate Taiwan by peaceful means so far as it is possible. There is no doubt that if Taiwan can be liberated peacefully, it would be best for our country, for all the Chinese people and for Asian and world peace.

At present, the possibility of peacefully liberating Taiwan is increasing. This is first of all because the international situation is now definitely tending towards relaxation, and the United States armed occupation of Taiwan and interference in China's internal affairs are opposed by more and more peace-loving countries and peoples. As regards our internal situation, our great motherland has grown even stronger and become even more consolidated. It is inspiring more pride in all patriotic Chinese than ever before. At present, our compatriots on Taiwan, who have a revolutionary tradition, are unwilling to suffer any longer their bitter life of slavery, and want to return as soon as possible to the embrace of the motherland; and even among the Kuomintang military and political personnel who have fled to Taiwan from the mainland, more and more people have come to realize that their only future lies in the peaceful reunification of their motherland. Since we issued the call to strive for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan, many Kuomintang military and political per-

sonnel in Taiwan and abroad have expressed their patriotic aspirations. We believe that those who wish to bring about the peaceful liberation of Taiwan and the complete unification of our motherland will certainly grow in number from day to day. This will be an inexorable trend.

The trends are very clear. The situation of the Taiwan authorities maintaining a feeble existence by following the behest of the United States cannot possibly last long. The foreign forces on which they depend are by no means reliable. On the contrary, by inviting the wolf into the house, they would not only lose everything they have, but also be in constant danger of being treacherously bitten in the back or abandoned. An important lesson can be drawn from a comparison of the contrasting attitudes taken by China and the United States in the Geneva talks. The Chinese Government has consistently maintained that only the international dispute between China and the United States in the Taiwan area can be discussed and settled by China and the United States; as for the question of the return of Taiwan to the motherland, regardless of the means by which it is realized, this is a question which can only be settled and definitely can be settled by us Chinese people, and no foreign interference will be tolerated. The United States, however, has adopted a totally different attitude in the talks. It regards Taiwan as its colony and makes use of it to bargain with China. It can also be seen that the United States has not only occupied Taiwan and extended its control into every sphere in Taiwan — political, military, economic and cultural, but is also playing its usual splitting tactics to create suspicion and feuds inside Taiwan, attempting thus to strengthen its control and to profit thereby. However,

these tactics of the U.S. aggressive forces to make fools of the Chinese people, interfere in China's internal affairs and disrupt China's national unity have aroused ever stronger dissatisfaction among the Kuomintang military and political personnel on Taiwan. Many of them have indicated that they will suffer no longer their life of abject dependence, at the beck and call of others. They want to enhance national self-respect, defend national dignity, free themselves from U.S. control and handle domestic matters in an independent spirit. We welcome this patriotic stand of theirs.

We have consistently stood for national solidarity and united resistance against external enemies. In the interest of our great motherland and our people, the Chinese Communists and the Kuomintang members have twice fought shoulder to shoulder against imperialism. After the conclusion of the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression, we also made efforts to bring about internal peace. Even during the Chinese War of Liberation when the Chinese people were forced to take up arms, and even after the mainland was liberated, we have never given up our efforts for peaceful negotiations. Although in the past few years, owing to U.S. armed intervention, we and the Kuomintang military and political personnel on Taiwan have taken different paths, yet so long as we all hold supreme the interests of our nation and motherland, we can still link arms again and unite. We believe that our great nation, which experienced long years of suffering, will certainly be able through our own efforts to accomplish the complete unity of our motherland.

Now, on behalf of the Government, I formally state: We are willing to negotiate with the Taiwan authorities

on specific steps and terms for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan, and we hope that the Taiwan authorities will send their representatives to Peking or other appropriate places, at a time which they consider appropriate, to begin these talks with us.

In order to unite all patriotic forces to realize at an early date the complete unification of our motherland, I wish here to declare once again that all patriotic people, regardless of whether they joined the patriotic ranks earlier or later, and regardless of how great the crimes they committed in the past may have been, will be treated in accordance with the principle that "patriots belong to one family" and the policy of no punishment for past misdeeds; they are all welcome to perform meritorious service for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan, and will be duly rewarded according to the degree of their merit and provided with appropriate jobs.

Our compatriots in Taiwan have always been an inseparable part of the Chinese people. We not only have constant concern for them and support them in various ways in their struggle against foreign rule, but also stand ready to welcome them at any time to participate in the socialist construction of the motherland and to share the glory of our nation.

We appreciate the situation in which all the Kuomintang military and political personnel on Taiwan whose homes are on the mainland find themselves, and we hope that they may soon realize their desire of reuniting with their families. They can communicate with their relatives and friends on the mainland; they can also return to the mainland for short visits to their relatives and friends. We are prepared to give them all kinds of convenience and assistance.

We hope the responsible Kuomintang military and political personages on Taiwan will play an important role in the cause of the peaceful liberation of Taiwan. So long as they work in this direction, their future position will be definitely assured. If they still harbour doubts, they can obtain clarification through their relatives and friends on the mainland or send people to the mainland to ascertain what the situation is. We guarantee the latter's freedom of movement in coming and going.

We hope the Kuomintang military personnel on Taiwan will actively expedite the peaceful liberation of Taiwan. If they do so, they will surely earn the confidence and care of the motherland and the people. The treatment accorded to those commanders and soldiers who came over peacefully on the mainland is a precedent.

We also hope that all Kuomintang military and political personnel who are abroad will work for the peaceful liberation of Taiwan. Only thus can they escape the fate of leading the life of exiles in foreign lands, looked down upon by others.

We attach great importance to the positive role played by the broad mass of patriotic overseas Chinese in promoting the cause of the peaceful liberation of Taiwan. We hope that those few overseas Chinese who used to maintain or still maintain a hostile attitude towards the motherland will distinguish between right and wrong, see the direction in which events are moving, and, together with the broad mass of patriotic overseas Chinese, contribute towards the patriotic cause of the peaceful liberation of Taiwan.

The gate of the motherland is always wide open for all patriots. Every Chinese has both the right and the

duty to make his contribution to the sacred cause of the unification of the motherland. With the unity of the entire nation and the efforts of all our people, the liberation of Taiwan will certainly be consummated.

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S REPORT ON PRESENT INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY

Delivered at the Fifth Session of the First National People's Congress

(Excerpts)

February 10, 1958

Now let me speak about relations between China and the United States.

It is now two and a half years since the Sino-American ambassadorial talks started in August 1955. Although China put forward a series of positive proposals on the question of easing tension in the Taiwan area, the United States persistently demanded that China recognize the status quo of the U.S. occupation of Taiwan, and tension in the Taiwan area continues. This has prevented any progress in the talks on the main questions in relations between China and the United States. Meanwhile, the Chinese side has made many efforts in seeking a gradual improvement of Sino-American relations by starting with those questions which are comparatively easy to solve and whose solution would create favourable conditions for settling major issues between China and the United States. In the past half year the Chinese side successively proposed that the Chinese and United States Governments admit correspondents of the other side to

their respective countries for news coverage on an equal and reciprocal basis, and that the two governments open negotiations on judicial assistance between the two countries. Everybody can see that these are proposals to settle practical matters and that they are fair and reasonable, and beneficial to both parties. Given a sincere desire to improve relations, there should not be any difficulty in reaching agreement on these matters. But these proposals were rejected by the United States Government practically out of hand. The question of news coverage and judicial assistance were first raised with China by U.S. journalists and U.S. judicial authorities. The Chinese Government is willing to see the wishes of the parties concerned in the United States realized. But efforts on the part of the Chinese Government alone will be in vain until the United States Government changes its rigid and hostile attitude.

The United States' persistence in the Sino-American talks in asking China to accept the present state of the U.S. occupation of Taiwan is inseparably connected with its scheme to create "two Chinas."

The United States openly occupied Taiwan at the same time as it unleashed its war of aggression in Korea and stepped up its intervention in Indo-China. Not reconciled to their defeat on the Chinese mainland, the U.S. ruling circles at that time attempted to throttle the young People's Republic of China by a three-pronged drive from Korea, Indo-China and Taiwan. However, after several years of serious trials of strength, the Korean war was terminated, peace was restored in Indo-China, and with New China developing and growing day by day the possibility of the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese people has also increased. The policy of the

United States of being hostile to the Chinese people, refusing to recognize New China and shutting out New China from international life has not only failed to prejudice in the least the existence and development of New China, but, on the contrary, has more and more isolated the United States itself. In order to extricate itself from this awkward situation and yet continue its occupation of Taiwan, the United States has been trying to create "two Chinas."

The United States holds ambassadorial talks with China, and yet at these talks demands that China accept the status quo of its occupation of Taiwan. This is in substance an attempt to create "two Chinas," which is of course absolutely unacceptable to the Chinese side. In the United Nations, the United States has met with growing opposition in obstructing the restoration to China of its legitimate rights, and it has come to see that it is impossible to bar China from the United Nations for ever. That is why the method now used by the United States is first to create wherever possible a state of "two Chinas" in certain international conferences and organizations so as to establish gradually a *fait accompli* of "two Chinas" in international affairs. As early as in November 1956 at the 16th International Olympic Games and in June 1957 at the Special Committee for the International Geophysical Year, the United States already tried to carry out its scheme through the instrumentality of its followers. But in October 1957 at the 19th International Red Cross Conference held in New Delhi with 80 countries participating, the United States itself came out to carry out its scheme to create "two Chinas." At this conference, the U.S. delegate insisted on inviting the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan to

send a delegation of the so-called Republic of China to attend the conference alongside the delegation of the People's Republic of China. Although the U.S. proposal was carried by a majority of 62 votes for to 44 votes against, out of the total number of 135 votes only a minority seconded the U.S. proposal, while the majority in various ways supported China's just stand against the creation of "two Chinas." This dirty trick of the United States aroused general indignation at the conference, and the delegations of all the socialist countries and many Asian and African countries as well as the North European countries, siding with the Chinese delegation, withdrew from the conference in a strong protest. Some other delegations stayed on in the conference to continue the struggle against the U.S. proposal. The United States was thus placed in an extremely isolated position, both politically and morally.

However, it should also be pointed out that the United States is not without followers in its plots to create "two Chinas." There are some who attempt to invite representatives of the People's Republic of China to participate in certain international organizations and conferences while retaining the representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, thus creating a situation of "two Chinas." Of course, among these there are also people who are truly friendly to China but who naively think that by so doing they are introducing New China into international organizations and activities, not knowing that they are in fact duped by the U.S. scheme to create "two Chinas." There are also some who deliberately spread the absurd contentions that the status of Taiwan is as yet undetermined and that the people in Taiwan are not Chinese (Han), and so they advocate a so-called plebi-

scite in Taiwan, autonomy for Taiwan, or putting Taiwan under trusteeship, all of which are methods to pave the way for the U.S. plot of creating "two Chinas." Taiwan is Chinese territory. Both the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations affirmed that Taiwan should be restored to China, and Taiwan was indeed returned to China after the Japanese surrender. The Chiang Kai-shek clique itself cannot deny these facts. Even the United States Government which is now bent on creating "two Chinas" acknowledged these facts on more than one occasion. The great majority of the people in Taiwan are of Han nationality, while the national minorities there, like other national minorities on the Chinese mainland, are also members of the big family of nationalities making up China. The absurdities concerning the status of Taiwan and the nationality of Taiwan are completely groundless. No scheme to separate Taiwan from the motherland through the fabrication of these absurdities can ever be realized.

The British Government, while recognizing the People's Republic of China, has been helping the United States to keep the Chiang Kai-shek clique in the seat of China usurped by it in the United Nations. Britain is also the propaganda centre of the absurd contention about the undetermined status of Taiwan. Recently, flirtation between the British Government and the Chiang Kai-shek clique has markedly increased. China is willing to see its relations with Britain improved, but it will never acquiesce in or tolerate the British practice of following the United States in creating "two Chinas." If Britain does not change its double-faced attitude towards China, Sino-British relations will inevitably be adversely affected.

The movement of the Japanese people for the restoration of Japan-China diplomatic relations has become an increasingly powerful force that is not to be ignored in Japanese political life. However, Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi attempted to make use of this for ulterior purposes. On November 12, 1957 he stated before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Japanese House of Councillors that the tension in the Taiwan Straits "is the result of the Nationalists and Communists claiming sovereignty over mainland China, and until their contentions are adjusted, there can be no allaying of tension." This is not only an attempt to shield the United States in occupying Taiwan, but also to justify the United States' plot of creating "two Chinas." This attempt has long been seen through by the Japanese people. For example, the Goodwill Mission of the Japanese Socialist Party, the Delegation of the Japanese National Council for the Restoration of Japan-China Diplomatic Relations and the Delegation of the Japan-China Friendship Association, which visited China in succession during 1957, all expressed a warm desire to promote normalization of relations between China and Japan, were of the opinion that the liberation of Taiwan is China's domestic affair and opposed the creation of "two Chinas." This shows that it is impossible to hoodwink the Japanese people by confusing right with wrong through false arguments about "two Chinas," nor is it possible to make the Japanese people's widespread movement for the restoration of Japan-China diplomatic relations serve the plot of creating "two Chinas."

The Chinese Government and people are firmly opposed to the scheme to create "two Chinas." We absolutely will not allow this scheme to materialize in any form

or on any occasion. There is only one China—the People's Republic of China. The crucial issue in Sino-American relations today is not that China wants American recognition but that the United States antagonizes the Chinese people, occupies Chinese territory and even wants China to accept this occupation as lawful. This is a great issue between right and wrong which is not to be obscured. Taiwan is an inalienable part of Chinese territory. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. All the Chinese people are opposed to the U.S. scheme to create "two Chinas." Even members of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan, provided they are patriotic, would not like to see a situation of "two Chinas." Of course, the United States would not scruple to rear a more pliant puppet regime in Taiwan in order to realize its schemes. But our great nation has never yielded to foreign oppression and our compatriots in Taiwan have also a glorious revolutionary tradition. So long as all patriotic Chinese persist in their struggle for the complete unification of their motherland and will not permit U.S. occupation of Taiwan to be legalized, Taiwan will certainly return to the bosom of the motherland. Recognition or no recognition by the United States, China will for ever exist and go on developing. Exclusion of China with its 600 million population from the United Nations only hurts the United Nations itself. We will never allow a state of "two Chinas" to arise in any international organization, conference or on any occasion. Such is our firm and unshakable stand.

STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON SINO-AMERICAN AMBASSADORIAL TALKS

June 30, 1958

More than half a year has passed since the U.S. Government suspended the Sino-American ambassadorial talks. The Chinese Government considers that this state of affairs should not continue. The U.S. ruling circles have been playing all sorts of tricks in an attempt to create the false impression that the Sino-American talks are still continuing in order to cover up its continued occupation of China's territory of Taiwan and its activities to create world tension. Such sinister designs must not be allowed to bear fruit. The Chinese Government agreed to hold the Sino-American ambassadorial talks with the aim of settling questions. The U.S. Government must answer clearly whether it is sincere about the talks.

Since December 12, 1957, when the U.S. Government broke the agreement between China and the United States on holding talks on an ambassadorial level by refusing to designate a representative of ambassadorial rank, thereby suspending the talks, the Chinese side, on January 14 and March 26, 1958, repeatedly urged the U.S. Government to designate a representative with the rank of ambassador to resume the talks. The U.S. Government, however, not only refused to do this but did not even consider it necessary to reply to the March 26 letter

of the Chinese side. Moreover, a spokesman of the State Department of the United States recently even remarked nonchalantly that a First Secretary of its foreign service was ready to hold talks with us at any time, as if there had never been an agreement between China and the United States on the holding of talks on an ambassadorial level. This cannot but rouse the indignation of the Chinese people.

The imperialist attitude consistently maintained by the United States is proven by the record of nearly three years of the Sino-American ambassadorial talks. The U.S. occupation of China's territory of Taiwan has created tension in the Taiwan area. This is a naked act of aggression against China and the Chinese people have every right to take any measures to repulse it. Nevertheless, the Chinese side, in order to relax the tension in the Taiwan area, expressed its willingness to sit down and talk matters over with the United States and, during the Sino-American ambassadorial talks, put forward a series of reasonable proposals for the peaceful settlement of the international dispute between China and the United States in the Taiwan area. But the American side rejected all these proposals. They attempted to confuse China's domestic affair, a matter between the Chinese Government and the Taiwan local authorities, with the international dispute between China and the United States in the Taiwan area, and demanded that China give up its right of exercising sovereignty over its own territory and recognize the right of "self-defence" for the United States on China's territory. This demonstrates clearly that the aim of the United States is not to relax the tension in the Taiwan area at all, but to insist that China recognize the status quo of U.S. occupation of Tai-

wan and to maintain and heighten tension. It is due to the imperialist policy of the United States that discussion on this crucial question of Sino-American relations has bogged down since the latter part of 1956.

In order to break the deadlock and gradually improve Sino-American relations, the Chinese side further put forward a series of proposals on certain questions that are comparatively easy to settle, such as removing the trade barriers between the two countries, eliminating the obstacles in the way of mutual contacts and cultural exchange between the two peoples, exchanging correspondents for news coverage on an equal and reciprocal basis, and rendering judicial assistance between the two countries. Although questions such as the entry of correspondents for news coverage and judicial assistance were first raised by those concerned on the American side to those concerned on the Chinese side, and all the proposals of the Chinese side were fully in accord with the principles of equality and mutual benefit, the U.S. Government nonetheless rejected them. What is even more intolerable is the fact that the United States, in disregard of the agreement reached in 1955 on the return of civilians of both sides, continues to detain thousands upon thousands of Chinese civilians in the United States and prevent them from returning to their motherland.

Irrefutable facts show that what the United States was after in the Sino-American ambassadorial talks was by no means a peaceful settlement of the international disputes between China and the United States on the basis of equality and mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty, but to impose its imperialist will on the Chinese people and, failing that, to make use of the ambassadorial talks to deceive the people of the world and

cover up its sinister designs to continue its aggression against China and to create international tension. During the past three years, the United States has been intensifying its interference and control of all aspects of life in Taiwan, establishing on it bases for guided missiles to threaten the Chinese people and utilizing the reactionary clique in Taiwan to carry out subversive activities and armed intervention against South-east Asian countries. At the same time, the United States is endeavouring to bring about, at many international conferences and organizations, a situation of "two Chinas," to create eventually such a *fait accompli* in the international arena, and thereby to prolong its occupation of Taiwan. This is the crux of the reason for the failure of the Sino-American ambassadorial talks to make progress. U.S. Secretary of State Dulles recently declared that it is in the best interests of the United States to persist in its policy of enmity towards the People's Republic of China but that it will deal with China when its interest so demands. This demonstrates most clearly that, in the minds of the U.S. ruling circles, the Sino-American ambassadorial talks are but a means serving the imperialist policy of the United States. The reason China agreed to hold the ambassadorial talks was to try by peaceful means to eliminate armed aggression and the threat of force in the Taiwan area on the part of the United States. However, the Chinese people are by no means afraid of U.S. aggression, and there is no reason whatsoever why they should pine for talks with the United States. Building socialism with lightning speed, the Chinese people are perfectly strong enough to liberate their territory of Taiwan. No force on earth can stop the great cause of the Chinese people in building up and

uniting their motherland. The handful of U.S. imperialists can only suffer isolation and defeat from their policy of enmity towards the 600 million Chinese people.

The Chinese Government hereby declares once again that it can neither agree to the unilateral changing of the level of the Sino-American ambassadorial talks, nor can it agree to the continued suspension of the talks on any administrative pretext. The Chinese Government demands that the United States Government designate a representative of ambassadorial rank and resume the talks within fifteen days counting from today, otherwise, the Chinese Government cannot but consider that the United States has decided to break off the Sino-American ambassadorial talks.

APPENDIX

A SHOPWORN TUNE OF THE U.S. AGGRESSORS

Renmin Ribao Editorial, August 16, 1958

On August 11, 1958 the U.S. State Department published a so-called "memorandum on the policy regarding non-recognition of Communist China." This wordy document merely repeats the same old anti-Chinese tunes we have heard so often from Dulles and his ilk. Filled with the most shameless lies and malice, it slanders the Chinese people. In order to blackmail the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America who are struggling for their independence and freedom, it hysterically repeats hackneyed accusations of "communist aggression."

That U.S. imperialism is violently hostile to the Chinese people is no news to us. The Chinese people, for their part,

have always held U.S. imperialism in contempt. They have never cared a jot about Washington's "recognition." Why then does the U.S. State Department publish a memorandum on non-recognition of China at this particular time? It is because the U.S. Government has long since got itself up a blind alley in its policy towards China and found itself thoroughly isolated and embarrassed. The People's Republic of China has not "passed" out of existence as Dulles maliciously wished. On the contrary, it has grown and progressed at a rate unknown in human history. As a result of the great achievements made by the Chinese people in socialist construction and their positive contributions to world peace, China's international status and prestige are daily growing; more and more countries have established diplomatic relations with it and more and more people are demanding that it be recognized. Of late, in particular, large sections of public opinion not only in countries standing for peace and neutrality but also in Britain, France, West Germany and other Western countries, as well as in the United States itself, are demanding the recognition of China and restoration of its legitimate rights in the United Nations. Meanwhile, national independence movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America are spreading like a storm. The Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries are now regarded by all the oppressed nations and peoples of the world as their most faithful friends. Facts have also shown that the Soviet Union, China and the other socialist countries are really the staunchest supporters of their struggle for independence and freedom. This state of affairs further spells out the utter bankruptcy of U.S. policy towards China. Hence this wail of anguish of the State Department from its blind alley. It seeks to conceal the failure of its policy towards China by raising this hue and cry, trying its best to keep up its adherents' morale, curb the growing tendency in many countries to demand recognition of China and halt

the mounting national independence movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

But the memorandum of the State Department has failed of its purpose. How many people in this vast world have praised it since its publication? It is a flop! A *UPI* reporter reckons that only Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee, south Vietnam and the Philippines have "welcomed" it. Public opinion in India, Indonesia, Ceylon and other Asian countries considers its publication at the present time "unfortunate." Nonetheless, we think its publication is also a good thing for the Chinese people and for the peoples of Asia and the world for it further exposes the aggressive designs of the U.S. imperialists.

In its memorandum, the State Department advances many "reasons" why the United States opposes recognizing China. First of all, the memorandum says, "There are special considerations which influence United States policy with regard to recognition." One of these is that the so-called "Republic of China" still "controls the strategic island of Taiwan." The memorandum unashamedly shows that the United States is determined to continue its support of the dead soul "government" of the Chiang Kai-shek clique which it has bought up, to continue occupying our territory of Taiwan by force and using this base to carry out aggressive activities against China so as to "keep alive the hopes" of those who oppose the People's Republic of China. Actually, this is not the whole story. Another reason why the U.S. dreams of occupying China's Taiwan indefinitely is that it is using this "strategic island" as an important base for its aggressive activities throughout the Far East.

This is precisely why the memorandum further states: "Non-recognition of Peiping [the People's Republic of China] coupled with continued recognition and support of the Republic of China [the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan] facilitates the accomplishment of United States policy objectives in the Far East."

What are these "policy objectives"? It seems, according to the memorandum, that the United States wants to oppose communist "expansion." But the facts are quite clear. The U.S. argument about this so-called opposition to communist "expansion" is not only a slander but a cloak under cover of which the United States takes every opportunity of carrying on aggressive activities and colonial expansion in the Far East and throughout Asia. It is under the cover of anti-communism that the United States has invaded and occupied South Korea and South Vietnam for quite a long time and turned them into U.S. colonies. The United States has established hundreds of military bases on the territories of Japan, the Philippines and other Asian countries and unceremoniously violated their sovereign rights and independence. It was under the anti-communist cloak that the United States organized the South-east Asia and Bagdad treaties. The purpose of these two treaties, as Indian Prime Minister Nehru and U.A.R. President Nasser have pointed out, is to permit the colonialist powers to decide or control the fate of this vast area of South-east Asia and to put the Arab people in a "big prison." The United States uses various means including the organization of military blocs and "aid" to carry out its most rabid colonialist plans, and ruthlessly plunder and exploit the natural resources and labour of the people in many Asian-African countries. Under this same anti-communist cloak, it has often intervened against or threatened national independence movements with force. In this way, it openly intervened in the internal affairs of Indonesia and used the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan and the SEATO bloc to send munitions and airmen to support the Indonesian rebels. A month ago, the United States, under the cloak of opposing "indirect aggression," sent its armed forces to invade and occupy the Lebanon, thousands of kilometres away from its own territory. And they are still hanging on there and refusing to clear out. All these

savage aggressive activities are the "policy objectives" of the United States in the Far East and in Asia.

The memorandum tries to cook up all sorts of "charges" against the Chinese people. But these lies are all too obvious. One thing in it, however, is true. It says that the Chinese people openly declare their "active support to the national independence and liberation movements in countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America." It regards this as a monstrous crime. But we should like to ask the U.S. State Department: Why do you object to the Chinese people giving support to movements for national independence? Doesn't this exactly prove that you are using anti-communism as a cloak for opposing the national independence movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America? And doesn't this precisely admit that you are predatory colonialists?

The memorandum claims that the basic consideration against U.S. recognition of the People's Republic of China is that it fears that Asian countries adjacent to China will not be able to resist so-called "communist aggression." The actual state of affairs is just the opposite. On the basis of the five principles of peaceful co-existence, China has established and is developing friendly relations with many of the adjacent countries. It is the United States which is carrying out aggression against those countries. The aggressive policy of the United States cannot resist the movements for national independence which are surging through Asia, Africa and Latin America. This is why the United States is once again flaunting the tattered banner of opposing so-called "communist aggression."

Panic-stricken, the State Department is making a big fuss about non-recognition of China and boasting that this has become "an instrument of U.S. national policy." This hysterical clamour can only arouse the Chinese people's utter contempt. The Chinese people are building their country in their own way and have not the slightest interest in whether the United States recognizes China or not. Dulles and

his gang who vainly imagine that the state power of the Chinese people "one day will pass," stubbornly cling to their policy of hostility to China and of non-recognition. They think that this will "hasten that passing" and be a "positive handicap" to the raising of China's status and prestige in international affairs. This in truth is an idiot's day-dream. New China is growing stronger and stronger; her international prestige is increasing day by day. Neither United States' tomfoolery nor anger can change this objective reality. The history of the past eight years and more have borne this out. The future too will bear this out.

If the U.S. policy of non-recognition has in anyway affected us, it is that it has made the Chinese people see still more clearly that the U.S. ruling clique is the centre of present-day world reaction and the sworn enemy of all those who want to preserve peace and their independence. It can only serve as a stimulus to the Chinese people to rise in greater vigour and do their utmost to speed the construction of their great motherland.

If the U.S. policy of non-recognition of China has any effect on the international scene, it will be to intensify the isolation of the United States. Washington's hostile attitude towards China and its stubbornness in unreasonably obstructing the restoration of China's rightful seat in the United Nations are not only unpopular among the Asian-African countries — a point which the U.S. State Department cannot deny in its memorandum — but are also causing growing dissatisfaction and complaints among the so-called close allies of the United States in the Western countries. Collecting "dead souls" is the way the British press (*Sunday Pictorial*) ridicules U.S. insistence on having the Chiang Kai-shek clique act as a spurious representative occupying China's place in the United Nations and it declares that "a world settlement is impossible with China barred from the United Nations." (*Daily Herald*) The stubborn U.S. refusal to recognize China will not do the slightest harm to China's daily increasing

international prestige. On the contrary, it will only expose the ferocious face of the United States before the eyes of the world as it rejects peaceful co-existence and heightens international tension.

Under the cloak of non-recognition of China, Washington hopes to continue its occupation of China's territory of Taiwan and use it as a springboard for further aggression against China and other Asian countries. This is a daydream of those who are utterly unaware of their own impotence. To further its aim of continued occupation of Taiwan, the United States at many international conferences has done its utmost to push ahead its plot of "two Chinas." Now in its memorandum even the U.S. State Department itself admits the bankruptcy of this "two Chinas" scheme. This is "ironical" indeed. Taiwan is an inalienable part of Chinese territory. We absolutely will not tolerate continued occupation of Taiwan by the United States. It is the sacred duty of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan. We have the determination and the strength to liberate the last piece of our territory. The aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism absolutely cannot halt the Chinese people in their advance to national unification and construction of their motherland.

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S STATEMENT ON THE SITUATION IN THE TAIWAN STRAITS AREA

September 6, 1958

On September 4, 1958, United States Secretary of State Dulles, authorized by United States President Eisenhower, issued a statement openly threatening to extend United States aggression in the Taiwan Straits area against the People's Republic of China and carrying out war provocation, thereby aggravating the tension in this area created by the United States and seriously jeopardizing the peace of the Far East and the world. Regarding this, I have been authorized by the Government of the People's Republic of China to make the following statement.

(1) Taiwan and the Penghu Islands have been China's territories from ancient times. Following the Second World War, they were restored to China after being occupied by Japan for a period of time. It is entirely China's internal affair for the Chinese people to exercise their sovereign right to liberate these areas. This is the Chinese people's sacred and inviolable right. The United States Government itself also declared formally that it would not get involved in China's civil conflict in the Taiwan area. Were it not for the fact that the United States Government later went back on its own statement

and carried out armed intervention, Taiwan and the Penghu Islands would have long been liberated and placed under the jurisdiction of the Government of the People's Republic of China. These are undeniable facts unanimously recognized by fair-minded world public opinion.

(2) United States support of the Chiang Kai-shek clique entrenched on Taiwan and the Penghu Islands, which has long been repudiated by all the Chinese people, and its direct armed occupation of Taiwan and the Penghu Islands constitute unlawful interference in China's internal affairs and infringement on China's territorial integrity and sovereignty, and are in direct conflict with the United Nations Charter and all codes of international law. All so-called treaties concluded between the United States and the Chiang Kai-shek clique and all related resolutions adopted by the United States Congress are null and void as far as the Chinese people are concerned. They can never legalize United States aggression. Much less can they be used as pretexts by the United States for extending its aggression in the Taiwan Straits area.

(3) Supported by the United States, the Chiang Kai-shek clique has for long been using coastal islands such as Quemoy which is close by Amoy and Matsu which is close by Foochow as advance bases for conducting all sorts of harassing and disruptive activities against the Chinese mainland. Recently, since the United States launched armed intervention against the Arab states, the harassing and disruptive activities of the Chiang Kai-shek clique against the Chinese mainland have become more unbridled. The Chinese Government has every right to deal resolute blows and take necessary

military action against Chiang Kai-shek's troops entrenched on the coastal islands; any outside intervention would be a criminal infringement on China's sovereignty. But the United States, in order to divert the attention of the people of the world from continued United States aggression in the Middle East and procrastination in withdrawing its troops from the Lebanon, attempts to take advantage of this situation and is amassing large numbers of armed forces in the Taiwan Straits area and openly threatening to extend its aggression in the Taiwan Straits area to Quemoy, Matsu, and other coastal islands. This is a grave war provocation against the 600 million Chinese people and a serious menace to the peace of the Far East and the world.

(4) The Chinese people's determination to liberate their own territories of Taiwan and the Penghu Islands is unshakable. In particular the Chinese people cannot tolerate the presence in their inland waters along the mainland of an immediate threat posed by such coastal islands as Quemoy and Matsu. No amount of U.S. war provocations can cow the Chinese people; on the contrary, they will only arouse even greater indignation among our 600 million people, and make them even more determined to fight U.S. aggressors to the very end. The fact that the United States, while not yet withdrawing its forces of aggression from the Lebanon, has hastened to create a new danger of war in the Taiwan Straits area, has made the peace-loving countries and people of the world see even more clearly the brutish features of the United States aggressors bent on sabotaging peace and that the United States imperialists are the most vicious enemy of all national independence move-

ments in Asia, Africa and Latin America and the world peace movement.

(5) In pursuance of its foreign policy of peace, the Chinese Government has always stood for peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems in accordance with the five principles and for the settlement of all international disputes by the peaceful means of negotiation. Despite the fact that the United States has invaded and occupied China's territory of Taiwan and the Penghu Islands by armed force and crudely violated the minimum codes in international relations, the Chinese Government proposed to sit down to negotiate with the U.S. Government to seek relaxation and elimination of the tension in the Taiwan area. In the Sino-American ambassadorial talks which started in August 1955 the Chinese side time and again proposed that the two parties should, in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs, issue a statement declaring their intention to settle the dispute between China and the United States in the Taiwan area through peaceful negotiation and without resorting to the threat or use of force against each other. But, contrary to Dulles' assertion in his September 4 statement, it is precisely the United States that has refused to issue such a statement and, moreover, has later suspended unilaterally the talks themselves. After the Chinese Government demanded in July this year that the talks be resumed within a set time-limit, the U.S. Government did not make a timely reply, but it has ultimately designated a representative of ambassadorial rank. Now, the U.S. Government again indicates its desire to settle the Sino-American dispute in China's

Taiwan area through peaceful negotiation. To make a further effort to safeguard peace, the Chinese Government is prepared to resume the ambassadorial talks between the two countries. But the danger of war created by the United States in China's Taiwan area has not been reduced thereby. In view of the fact that the U.S. Government often acts differently from what it says and often uses peaceful negotiation as a smokescreen to cover up its actual deed of continuously extending aggression, the entire Chinese people and the peace-loving people all over the world must not relax in the least their struggle against U.S. interference in China's internal affairs and against U.S. threat to the peace of the Far East and the world.

(6) The Sino-American dispute in the Taiwan Straits area and the Chinese people's internal affair of liberating their own territory are two matters entirely different in nature. The United States has all along tried to confuse these two matters so as to cover up its aggression and intervention in China. This is absolutely not to be allowed. The Chinese people have every right to liberate their own territory by all suitable means at a suitable time, and will not tolerate any foreign interference. Should the U.S. Government, brazenly disregarding the Chinese people's repeated warnings and the desire of the people of the world for peace, persist in its aggression and intervention against China and impose war on the Chinese people, it must bear the responsibility for all the serious consequences.

PART II

CABLE FROM CHU CO-CHING, CHAIRMAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL GEOPHYSICAL YEAR NATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TO S. CHAPMAN, PRESIDENT OF THE SPECIAL COMMITTEE FOR THE INTERNATIONAL GEOPHYSICAL YEAR

June 29, 1957

Prof. S. Chapman,
President of CSAGI,
CSAGI,
Brussels, Belgium

Your letter of June 17 has been received. The IGY National Committee of the People's Republic of China strongly protests against the Bureau of CSAGI for its arbitrary act of changing the name of the IGY National Committee of the People's Republic of China into Chinese IGY Committee, Peking, and of admitting the so-called "Taipei Academia Sinica of China" to participate in CSAGI under the name of Chinese IGY Committee, Taipei. When the IGY National Committee of the People's Republic of China joined CSAGI in 1955, on the eve of the opening of the West Pacific Region Conference in February 1957, and in my letter to you dated April 10, we repeatedly expressed our unalterable and clear stand, namely, Taiwan has been an integral part of China since time immemorial and it is only owing to foreign

intervention and obstruction that the present situation in Taiwan has been created. Therefore, Taiwan could in no way participate in CSAGI as another participating country independent of the People's Republic of China and on the same footing with the IGY National Committee of the People's Republic of China, which has long been recognized by the CSAGI. We will never agree to such a wrong act of subordinating the activities of international scientific co-operation to the plot of certain international forces to create "two Chinas." On behalf of the IGY National Committee of the People's Republic of China, I notify you formally: we firmly demand the annulment of this wrong decision. Before the decision is revoked, the National Committee of the People's Republic of China withdraws from CSAGI and all its activities. Please distribute the texts of my letter of April 10 and this cable to all National Committees of CSAGI.

Chu Co-ching
Chairman of the IGY National Committee of the People's Republic of China

STATEMENT OF LI TEH-CHUAN ON BEHALF OF THE DELEGATIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA AND THE RED CROSS SOCIETY OF CHINA AT THE 19TH INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS CONFERENCE

October 29, 1957

Your Excellency Mme. Chairman,
Fellow Delegates,

At yesterday's plenary session, the Chinese delegation put before the conference an emergency motion opposing the plot of certain persons of utilizing the conference to create "two Chinas" and requesting the conference to adopt measures to prevent elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique on Taiwan from taking part in the conference under whatever name. In deference to the opinion of the Chairman of our conference, we did not finish our statement. But Mr. François-Poncet used his position to propagandize at great length the theory of "two Chinas." Although he again and again emphasized that the international Red Cross organization should be "outside of politics," yet a great part of his report dealt with China's internal affairs, attempting to create at our conference a situation of "two Chinas." Everyone knows that recently certain forces inimical to China, with the United States at their head, have been actively engaged in the plot of creating "two Chinas." The activi-

ties of Mr. François-Poncet are a part of these sinister activities of the United States.

Everyone knows that the People's Republic of China is a state party to the Geneva Conventions and that the Government of the People's Republic of China is the only legal government representing China, and that the Red Cross Society of China is the sole Chinese national Red Cross organization recognized by the People's Republic of China and also a member of the League of Red Cross Societies. Therefore, only the delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the delegation of the Red Cross Society of China have the right to take part in the work of this conference as the sole legitimate representatives of China. Taiwan is a province of China, and the authorities exercising jurisdiction there can only be regarded as one of the local authorities of the People's Republic of China, without right of representation whatsoever in foreign relations. Also, the Red Cross organization there can only be a local organization of the Red Cross Society of China and therefore has no qualification whatsoever to attend this conference. Persons with any common sense can understand this, and according to Article 1 Paragraph 2 of the Statutes of the International Red Cross, only states parties to the Geneva Conventions are entitled to send delegations, and there can only be one government delegation for each state. According to Paragraph 2 of the "Conditions for the Recognition of National Red Cross Societies," there can only be one Red Cross Society with central authority in each state. It can thus be seen, if the invitation to elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique on Taiwan to attend the con-

ference was not deliberately intended to split China and interfere in China's internal affairs, then what was it?

Mr. François-Poncet's assertion that the Chiang Kai-shek clique is a state party to the Geneva Conventions is even more a height of absurdity. The People's Republic of China is built on the overthrow by the Chinese people of the Chiang Kai-shek clique's reactionary rule. It has supplanted old China over the whole country (including Taiwan). This is in full conformity with the basic principles of international law. Change of government often takes place in various countries in the world. A new regime naturally replaces the old regime. What right have those persons of a past regime who have lost all qualifications for representation at international conferences? Mr. François-Poncet, who has been a diplomat, should know such basic common sense in international law.

Secondly, placing the relations of the Chinese Government with its Taiwan Province on the same level as those between East and West Germany, North and South Korea and North and South Vietnam is also absurd and ludicrous. Everyone knows that the present state of East and West Germany and North and South Korea was created as a result of the Second World War, and that the temporary division of North and South Vietnam is recognized by the Geneva agreements. Different from the situation in these countries, Taiwan has already been returned to China after the Second World War and has become in fact a part of China. The question of Taiwan does not belong to the category of unsettled international questions left over by the Second World War. These are all recent historical facts. Those who confuse China's domestic matter with the division of

Germany, Korea and Vietnam must either have a poor memory or harbour ulterior motives.

Thirdly, the so-called Taiwan question is in substance China's domestic matter in which no foreign country or international organization is allowed to interfere. Taiwan is an inalienable part of China's territory, and the present abnormal situation is only a result of the United States armed invasion and occupation of Taiwan. But the will of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan is unshakable. Taiwan will definitely be liberated sooner or later. Any act of letting the so-called "government of Taiwan" attend an international conference as an independent government under the pretext that it exercises *de facto* authority and implements the Geneva Conventions there is an act of supporting United States aggression.

Behind the curtain, the United States has directed Mr. François-Poncet to abuse his power by sending a telegram to the so-called "Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of China" summoning the Chiang Kai-shek clique to attend this conference. This act is not only an insult to China's national dignity and interference in China's internal affairs, but is also an act directed at disrupting this conference.

In view of the above-mentioned facts, the Delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Delegation of the Red Cross Society of China once again made the request that the conference condemn the illegal act of Mr. François-Poncet and his back-stage director and immediately adopt effective measures not to allow elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique to attend the conference under whatever name.

STATEMENT OF PAN TSU-LI, HEAD OF THE GOVERNMENT DELEGATION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA ON WITHDRAWAL OF THE CHINESE DELEGATION FROM THE 19TH INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS CONFERENCE

November 7, 1957

In protest against the United States delegation's forcing the conference to adopt its proposal which violates the Statutes of the International Red Cross and is a plot to create "two Chinas," the Chinese delegation has withdrawn from the 19th International Red Cross Conference.

It is regrettable that this has happened. But this was not unexpected.

Ever since September 1955, when the Standing Commission of the International Red Cross decided to invite the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan to this conference under the name of the "government of Formosa" and the "Red Cross society of Formosa," we have repeatedly expressed our opposition and requested the annulment of this decision which was in flagrant violation of the Statutes of the International Red Cross. We also frankly made known our opinion to the parties concerned, pointing out that this was a decision which would facilitate the creation of "two Chinas" and that the purpose of the United States was to create "two Chinas" to which

we absolutely cannot agree. However, due importance was not attached to our opinion. Not a few people might have thought since the invitation was addressed to the "Government of Formosa," and not to the so-called "Government of the Republic of China" which was long overthrown by the 600 million Chinese people and lost all representative character, no "two Chinas" would be constituted. Now the development of events has fully proved that this is a very wrong view. What the United States has done at this conference is a profound lesson to many. There is only one China, and that is the People's Republic of China. If one should think that besides the People's Republic of China, which truly represents the Chinese people, there is still another China, he would surely fall into the snare of the U.S. policy inimical to the Chinese people. It is a question of either one or the other, there is no middle way.

We have long foreseen this line of action by the United States. Why so? Because everyone can see that in the past eight years the People's Republic of China has been growing and becoming stronger day by day. The fact that New China stands solid in the world can in no way be changed by the U.S. attitude towards her. The Chinese people are opposed to the hostile policy of the United States towards New China, but we do not care a bit about U.S. recognition of the People's Republic of China. As a matter of fact, the adoption of this policy by the United States cannot in the least impair the existence and growth of New China, the country that suffers from this is precisely the United States itself. Today, the central question in the relations between China and the United States is not that New China is eager to obtain U.S. recognition, but that the United States is trying hard to make China

recognize U.S. occupation of Taiwan, it is trying to create "two Chinas" so as to find a way out for its bankrupt policy towards China. At the Sino-American ambassadorial talks at Geneva, the United States has tried through roundabout ways to realize this attempt, but was stopped by us. In the United Nations too, the United States also wishes to act in this way, but it has been unable to turn about right away because its policy towards China has been too rigid. Therefore, a comparatively easy method is first of all to bring about a situation of "two Chinas" in other international conferences and international organizations where this can be done, thus slowly creating a prevailing situation of "two Chinas." The International Red Cross Conference is one of the forums so selected.

This line of action of the United States is, as we have time and again solemnly expressed, what we resolutely cannot agree. To drive the point home, even if the United States does not recognize New China for a hundred years and even if New China cannot participate in any international conference or international organization, we still will not accept U.S. occupation of China's Taiwan as legal, nor will we tolerate the appearance of a situation of "two Chinas" in any international conference or international organization in which we take part. Such is our position.

The Delegation of the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Delegation of the Red Cross Society of China have come to take part in this International Red Cross Conference with the sincere desire of promoting international co-operation on the basis of mutual respect. Although owing to the disruption and obstruction of the United States and its followers, we

could not but withdraw from the conference, we do not consider our participation in the conference to have served no purpose, we believe we have obtained results. During the period that we attended the conference, we were accorded cordial hospitality by the Government and Red Cross Society of India — New China's great neighbour and host of this conference. In our fight against the plot of the United States to create "two Chinas," we were given support by the delegations of many countries: USSR, India, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Yugoslavia, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the People's Republic of Mongolia, Indonesia, Syria, Egypt and others. Particularly, we wish to express our thanks and admiration to the spirit of upholding justice shown by our hostess Madam Amrit Kaur, Chairman of the Indian Red Cross Society. Through our contacts, we know that, even in the delegations of certain countries and Red Cross societies which did not support us, there are many persons who uphold justice and support our just stand. On our departure, we would like to take this opportunity to express our heartfelt thanks to all countries and persons friendly to New China.

STATEMENT OF THE CHINESE OLYMPIC COMMITTEE (THE ALL-CHINA ATHLETIC FEDERATION) ON NON-PARTICIPATION IN THE 16TH OLYMPIC GAMES

November 6, 1956

To the President of the IOC and the Chairman of the Organizing Committee of the 16th Olympic Games

(Copies to the Chancellor and members of the IOC)

Since 1952, the Chinese Olympic Committee (the All-China Athletic Federation) has consistently notified the IOC that Taiwan is a province of China and the sports organization in Taiwan should be subordinated to the leadership of the national sports organization of China. If the athletes in Taiwan wish to take part in the Olympic Games, they must first participate in the national pre-Olympic selective trials. If selected, they can be members of the unified Chinese Olympic Team. In fact, during the 15th Olympic Games, only the All-China Athletic Federation sent a team to participate in the events.

However, ignoring these facts and in violation of the principle that only one national Olympic committee can be recognized, the IOC has arbitrarily persisted in recognizing "two Chinese Olympic committees" and has allowed Taiwan to send athletes to participate separately in the 16th Olympic Games.

Recently the Executive Board of the IOC has taken the further step of unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of the Chinese people, unscrupulously changing the name of our country. Furthermore, it has accepted a slanderous proposal put forward by the so-called "Taiwan Sports Organization" and is bringing before the 52nd Session of the IOC the question of the Chinese Olympic Committee (the All-China Athletic Federation) notifying athletes in Taiwan to participate in the national selective trials that were held in Peking in October. What has angered us still more is the fact that the organizing committee of the 16th Olympic Games, at the opening ceremony in the Olympic Village, hoisted the flag of the Kuomintang clique which has long been renounced by the 600 million people of China and all the Chinese athletes.

Instead of correcting their mistakes after our firm protest against what they had done, the IOC and the Organizing Committee of the 16th Olympic Games have insisted on inviting Taiwan to send a separate team to participate in the 16th Olympic Games. All this not only seriously violates the traditions of the Olympic Movement and the Charter of the Olympic Games, but is also a great insult to the 600 million Chinese people and all Chinese athletes, against which we cannot but lodge our strong protest.

The Chinese Olympic Committee (the All-China Athletic Federation) solemnly declares that the Chinese people and the Chinese athletes cannot tolerate this scheme of artificially splitting China. We demand that the IOC and the Organizing Committee of the 16th Olympic Games uphold their honour and reputation and act in accordance with the Charter and spirit of the

Olympic Games by immediately correcting their mistakes and recognizing only one national Olympic committee, the All-China Athletic Federation, as the sole organization representing the 600 million Chinese people, and cancel Taiwan's right to send a separate team to the 16th Olympic Games. The Chinese athletes will not participate in the 16th Olympic Games until this matter is settled. The All-China Athletic Federation reserves the right to put forward further demands on this question at a later date.

Jung Kao-tang
Vice-President of the Chinese Olympic Committee
(The All-China Athletic Federation)

STATEMENT OF THE ALL-CHINA ATHLETIC FEDERATION ON WITHDRAWAL FROM THE INTERNATIONAL FOOTBALL FEDERATION

June 10, 1958

According to the report of the representatives of the All-China Athletic Federation attending the 31st Session of the Congress of the F.I.F.A., the Congress, under the domination of its Chairman Mr. Drewry and some other persons, unreasonably rejected our proposal to exclude the so-called "China National Amateur Athletic Federation" in Taiwan from F.I.F.A. membership and our delegates were treated with gross impertinence. This cannot but arouse our great indignation.

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the sole legal national sports organization in our country is the All-China Athletic Federation. On April 8, 1952 the All-China Athletic Federation wrote to F.I.F.A. stating that the former "China National Amateur Athletic Federation" had been reorganized to form the present A.C.A.F. On June 19 the same year F.I.F.A. wrote in reply to say that "the emergency committee of F.I.F.A. has agreed to the recognition of the new direction of A.C.A.F. having taken over the activities of the former China National Amateur Athletic Federation." That A.C.A.F. is the only legal representation of China in F.I.F.A. is beyond dispute. Article One, Paragraph One of the F.I.F.A. Statutes stipulates "only one associa-

tion shall be recognized in each country." Therefore, F.I.F.A. has no right to recognize any other sport organization in China except A.C.A.F. At the 29th Congress in 1954, F.I.F.A., under the domination of some people with ulterior motives and in disregard of its decision made in 1952, accepted the so-called "China National Amateur Athletic Federation" in Taiwan as a member. This was a gross violation of the F.I.F.A. Statutes.

A.C.A.F. repeatedly lodged strong protests against this unlawful decision of F.I.F.A. Yet, F.I.F.A. persisted in its mistake on the pretext of various absurd arguments. This year, we once again put forth the motion of disqualifying the membership of the so-called "China National Amateur Athletic Federation" in Taiwan and demanded a discussion at the 31st Session of the F.I.F.A. Congress held this year in Stockholm from June 5 to 6. After our motion was accepted and put on the agenda, Mr. Drewry, President of F.I.F.A. and others attempted to bypass the item, and then tried by every means to prevent our representatives from delivering their speeches. Finally, they manipulated the session into rejecting our motion by means of the voting-machine. Under such intolerable circumstances, our representatives lodged a strong protest and withdrew from the session.

This act of illegally recognizing the "China National Amateur Athletic Federation" after formal recognition of A.C.A.F. by F.I.F.A., is actually an integral part of the plot to create "two Chinas" engineered by U.S. imperialists. The U.S. imperialists and their followers are not reconciled to the Chinese people's victory and the tremendous development of the People's Republic of

China achieved in the past few years. Failing to blot out the existence of the mighty People's Republic of China, they have resorted to all sorts of means to fabricate "two Chinas" on the international scene in an attempt to weaken the ever-growing influence of our country and to legalize U.S. occupation of China's territory of Taiwan. Under the pretext that "politics is irrelevant to sports," they are trying to realize the political scheme of creating "two Chinas" by making international sports organizations give unlawful recognition to sports organizations in Taiwan.

Our stand is firm and unshakable. There is only one China in the world and that is the People's Republic of China. Taiwan is only a province of China. Sports organizations there can only be local bodies of A.C.A.F. All activities to create "two Chinas" in any form constitute gross interference in the Chinese people's domestic affairs, and are absolutely not to be tolerated by them. The Chinese people cannot be separated and China's territory cannot be divided. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan. The "two Chinas" plot will certainly fail as before.

At the Stockholm Session, when our representatives solemnly declared their decision to withdraw from the Congress, Mr. Drewry, President of F.I.F.A., impudently said that it was he who ordered them to leave. His outrageous and imbecile statement not only betrayed the hideous face of an imperialist, but also proved that F.I.F.A. through these people's manipulation has become a political tool of U.S. imperialism. Drewry's idiotic clamour deserves no attention but only ridicule. But he and his like must know that the days when the imperialists could order people around at will have gone

for ever and that the Chinese people have stood up. Anyone who antagonizes the Chinese people will be committing a great mistake which they will come to regret too late.

Quite a number of the members in F.I.F.A. are just-minded. But as F.I.F.A. is now controlled by Drewry and other imperialist elements and persists in being hostile to the Chinese people, A.C.A.F. has decided to withdraw from the International Federation of Football Association. Only when F.I.F.A. has rectified its mistake by disqualifying the sports organization of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan from membership will we consider the question of resuming co-operation with it.

A.C.A.F. and the sportsmen of the People's Republic of China are willing to make contacts with their counterparts in other countries and to co-operate with international sports organizations. The growing prestige of the People's Republic of China among international sports circles will not be impaired and our normal contacts and relations with international sports organizations will not be hampered by the shameless tricks played by a handful of imperialist elements in the international sports circles, who follow the reactionary policies of the United States, such as Drewry, who imagined they could achieve this by making F.I.F.A. which is under their control give recognition to the sports organization of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan. The rapid progress and high prestige of great China cannot be weakened. Anyone attempting to do so will be like the proverbial mantis trying to stop the chariot. He will only hurt himself by standing in the way of the inexorably advancing wheel of history.

LETTER FROM TUNG SHOU-YI, INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE MEMBER FOR CHINA, TO AVERY BRUNDAGE, PRESIDENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE

April 23, 1958

Mr. Avery Brundage,
President,
International Olympic Committee,
10 N. La Salle St.
Chicago 2, Ill., U.S.A.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of January 8, 1958 has been duly received. It is kind of you to agree to rectify the error of misnaming our country, the People's Republic of China, as "the Democratic People's Republic of China" in the minutes of the 53rd Session of the I.O.C.

I am, however, very indignant at the rest of your letter in which you have not only refused to correct the slanderous "interpretation" in the minutes of what I said at the Melbourne Session, but have made many unfriendly and distorting remarks. I had no desire to discuss these matters with you, but since you have made so many absurd comments in your letter, I am obliged here to deal with the actual facts.

I do not see your grounds for saying that "It (Taiwan) was last part of Japan and not of China." Taiwan has from ancient times been part of Chinese territory. This is a historical fact which cannot be changed by anyone. Granted that Taiwan was occupied by the Japanese imperialists from 1895 to 1945, but it has been restored to China after the Second World War in accordance with the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations. If you have not seriously read anything on the history of Taiwan, I believe you must have at least read such important documents as the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations. It is universally known, and even the United States Government cannot deny, that these two Declarations clearly stipulated that Taiwan does not belong to Japan but to China and should be restored to China. I am surprised to find that you, Mr. Brundage, being the honourable president of the I.O.C., seem to be in complete ignorance of these Declarations. Is it because you have poor memory or because you have ulterior motives?

Furthermore, you said arbitrarily that "the natives (of Taiwan) are neither Chinese nor Japanese." I must point out to you that the natives of Taiwan are Chinese just as you and your fellow countrymen are Americans. More than ninety per cent of the eight million odd people in Taiwan belong to the Han nationality. They moved to and settled in Taiwan from the mainland centuries before your ancestors went over to America. Besides the Han nationality, there are about 200,000 Kaoshan national minority living in Taiwan. Like the other national minorities on the mainland, they are a member of China's big family of nationalities. If, from the fact that a certain number of national minorities reside in Taiwan, you can assert that the natives of Taiwan are not Chinese,

then would not we have more reasons to say that the people living in the United States now are not Americans because the Red Indians were the original inhabitants of the American continent? Could you accept this, my dear Mr. President?

As for your remark "there is a separate government in Taiwan," Mr. President, you must not forget how this situation is brought about. This so-called "government" is but a handful of traitors utterly repudiated by the Chinese people. It was only under the protection of the U.S. Government which has definite political purposes, that they were able to flee from the mainland to Taiwan. Now they cannot represent anyone but their own shadows. That these traitors are able to survive in Taiwan until today is due to the political, economic and military aid openly given by the U.S. Government and open interference in the internal affairs of our country by the U.S. Government. If the U.S. Government had not interfered in our internal affairs and occupied our territory of Taiwan with armed forces, this state of affairs would long have ceased to exist. Yet in your letter, you bypass this point and instead advance the false arguments that "this government is recognized internationally and specifically by the United Nations" etc. As is universally known, such international recognition and United Nations' recognition are wholly manipulated by the U.S. Government. It is because the U.S. Government has persisted in a hostile policy towards our country, compelled other countries by nasty means to follow its policy, and manipulated the so-called "majority" in the United Nations to turn the United Nations into its virtual voting-machine, that some countries up to now dare not sever relations with Chiang Kai-shek clique

entrenched in Taiwan and that the United Nations is still incapable of expelling Chiang's "delegates" and restoring to our country its rightful place in the United Nations. Nevertheless, we are glad to see that more countries and organizations, including certain far-sighted people in the U.S., have, in spite of the pressure of the U.S. Government, come forward to advocate breaking off relations with the Chiang Kai-shek clique, recognizing the People's Republic of China and restoring its rightful position in the United Nations. In the face of this irresistible trend, the U.S. Government which wishes to maintain its occupation of our territory of Taiwan, has been actively engineering the plot of so-called "two Chinas" in the past few years. This is a plot firmly opposed by the 600 million Chinese people.

There is only one China in the world and that is the People's Republic of China. Since Taiwan is a province of China, the sports organization there can only be a local one under the authority of the All-China Athletic Federation. Therefore, I have always maintained that the I.O.C. should give recognition to one Chinese Olympic Committee only, namely, the All-China Athletic Federation. The I.O.C. should support the principle for the All-China Athletic Federation to solve its own problem with its local sports organization in the Taiwan Province. I have proceeded wholly from the stand of upholding the principles and spirit of I.O.C. and safeguarding its prestige. However, much to my regret, after reading your letter, one cannot but feel that you, honourable president, who have always claimed to play "no politics" and been blaming others for dealing with politics, have evidently fallen into the political whirl-pool of artificially creating "two Chinese Olympic Committees" and has

been very unfriendly to my country and the Chinese Olympic Committee. Now it is very obvious that it is you and not we who have introduced political questions into the I.O.C. meetings.

With greetings,

Yours sincerely,

(signed)
Tung Shou-yi

STATEMENT OF THE CHINESE OLYMPIC COMMITTEE (ALL-CHINA ATHLETIC FEDERATION) ON SEVERING RELATIONS WITH THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPIC COMMITTEE

August 19, 1958

In the past few years, the International Olympic Committee, under the control of its president, Brundage (U.S.A.), in deliberate violation of its noble Charter, recognized the so-called "China National Amateur Athletic Federation" of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan as another Chinese Olympic committee, after recognizing the Chinese Olympic Committee (All-China Athletic Federation) as the only legal Chinese committee, thus creating a situation of "two Chinas." The Chinese Olympic Committee has lodged repeated protests against this but the IOC has brazenly ignored our protests. In his recent letters to Mr. Tung Shou-yi, IOC member for China, Brundage went further in his slanders against the Chinese people and openly defended U.S. aggression in occupying our territory of Taiwan and its political plot of creating "two Chinas." People have long been aware that the China policy of the U.S., whether in refusing to recognize New China or creating "two Chinas," has gone bankrupt so completely that the U.S. Department of State had to publish recently a memorandum to make desperate apology for it. But IOC has been willing to be a tool of this bankrupt China policy of the U.S. In

these circumstances, the Chinese Olympic Committee has decided to cease to recognize the IOC and to sever all relations with it.

The facts show that for a long time Brundage has abused his powers as president of the IOC and caused the IOC to follow closely the antagonistic policy of the U.S. towards China.

Following the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, the All-China Athletic Federation took over the duties of the China National Amateur Athletic Federation and has become the national sports organization of China. According to the IOC Charter, there is no doubt that the All-China Athletic Federation is the only legal national Olympic committee in China. However, in order to support the U.S. policy of refusing to recognize New China and excluding her from international affairs, Brundage declared at the 47th Session of the IOC in 1952 that although Chinese athletes were allowed to participate in the 15th Olympic Games, it did not mean that the IOC recognized any Chinese Olympic committee. Although Brundage attempted by this arbitrary means to rob the All-China Athletic Federation of its legitimate position as the Chinese Olympic Committee, the legitimate position of the All-China Athletic Federation as the Chinese Olympic Committee was finally confirmed and recognized by the IOC at its 49th Session in 1954, thanks to the sense of justice of many Olympic committee members faithful to the Olympic spirit.

The failure of Brundage's attempt to deny recognition to the All-China Athletic Federation is an example of the general fiasco of the U.S. antagonistic policy towards New China. This policy of the U.S. has not hampered New China's existence and development in the least, on

the contrary, it has isolated the U.S. itself more and more. In order to escape being passive and isolated and especially to continue its occupation of China's territory of Taiwan, the U.S. has altered its policy and turned to actively engineering the plot of creating "two Chinas." Brundage also hastily began to use the IOC to prepare the way for this policy. Not scrupling to violate the principle of recognizing only one Olympic committee in each country and in the absence of any discussion or decision by the IOC, he unlawfully extended recognition to the so-called "China National Amateur Athletic Federation" of the Chiang Kai-shek clique which has been repudiated by the six hundred million Chinese people. He illegally invited the so-called sports organization in Taiwan to send a separate team to the 1956 Olympic Games, and at the Games went to the length of changing the name of the People's Republic of China to "Peking-China" and styling China's province of Taiwan as "Formosa-China." The Chinese Olympic Committee lodged a strong protest against this and withdrew from the 16th Olympic Games.

Recently, Brundage has been even more brazen in defending the U.S. plot to create "two Chinas" and to continue its occupation of Taiwan. In his letter dated January 8 to Mr. Tung Shou-yi, the IOC member for China, he said preposterously: "there is a separate government in Taiwan," "it (Taiwan) was last part of Japan and not of China," "the natives (of Taiwan) are neither Chinese nor Japanese" etc. Taiwan is China's territory. Both the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations recognized that it should be returned to China. And actually Taiwan was returned to China after the Japanese surrender. Even the U.S. Government, which is at present actively creat-

ing "two Chinas," has recognized these facts on more than one occasion. Brundage's absurd arguments cannot change these facts in the least; on the contrary, they have exposed him thoroughly as an imperialist who has sneaked into the international sports organization in order to serve the political schemes of the U.S.

The Chinese Olympic Committee is willing to co-operate with the IOC and has in the past made its utmost efforts to do so. But the stand of the Chinese people against "two Chinas" is unshakable. There is only one China in the world and that is the People's Republic of China. The Chinese people absolutely will not allow a situation of "two Chinas" to exist in any international organization, conference or on any occasion. The fact that the IOC, under the control of Brundage, openly serves the "two Chinas" plot engineered by the U.S. has destroyed all possibilities for the Chinese Olympic Committee to co-operate with the IOC. It is impossible for the Chinese Olympic Committee to consider resuming co-operation with the IOC before the IOC corrects its mistake by withdrawing its recognition of the so-called "China National Amateur Athletic Federation" in Taiwan and truly lives up to its Charter.

There are many just-minded members in the IOC who are genuinely faithful to the Olympic spirit. We are convinced that they will support the righteous stand taken by the Chinese Olympic Committee and will do their best to free the IOC from the control of the bad elements in the international sports circles and enable it to resume its proper role in promoting international sports activities.

The Chinese Olympic Committee
(All-China Athletic Federation)

PART III

STATEMENT OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA CONCERNING THE "REPORT ON THE RIOTS IN KOWLOON AND TSUEN WAN" OF THE BRITISH AUTHORITIES IN HONGKONG

(Excerpts)

January 22, 1957

On January 1, 1957 the British authorities in Hongkong issued a "Report on the Riots in Kowloon and Tsuen Wan." In its report, the British authorities in Hongkong still attempted to cover up the facts, whitewash the crimes of the Kuomintang agents in engineering and organizing the riots in Kowloon, and shirk their own responsibility. The report also failed to provide responsible assurances for the future security of the life and property of the Chinese inhabitants in Hongkong and Kowloon. It even openly called the Chiang Kai-shek group in Taiwan the "National Government in Formosa," and mentioned it alongside of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, thus revealing once again the British Government's design of creating "two Chinas." Regarding this, the Chinese Government and people cannot but express their indignation and protest.

It should be pointed out that these riots were no accident. The British authorities in Hongkong have long shielded and connived at the activities of the Kuomintang special agents in Hongkong and Kowloon detrimental to peaceful Chinese inhabitants and hostile to the People's Republic of China, thus allowing Hongkong and Kowloon to become in reality a base of the Kuomintang agents for carrying out subversive activities against the China mainland. It was Kuomintang agents who blew up aircraft of the China National Aviation Corporation and the Central Air Transport Corporation and who seized fishing boats "Yuchin," "Yuyang," "Yulien," "Yupu," and "Yuchiung." Regarding these cases, the British authorities in Hongkong never seriously brought the criminals to justice. The sabotage of the aircraft "Kashmir Princess" on April 11, 1955 which shocked the whole world took place nearly two years ago, yet the British authorities in Hongkong have not only failed to bring the chief criminal to justice but, on the contrary, have released from custody all those who are connected with the case. On January 31, 1956, a F-86 fighter of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan, after intruding over the China mainland to carry out harassing activities, fled to Hongkong and landed there to escape from the pursuit of our air force. The Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a note to the British Charge d'Affaires in Peking, pointing out that the British authorities in Hongkong had the responsibility to detain that fighter plane and its pilot. However, the British Government, in disregard of the proper demand of the Chinese Government, sent the pilot of the fighter back to Taiwan, thus openly allowing Hongkong to be used as a base and a place of refuge for

carrying out military sabotage against China. With the connivance of the British authorities in Hongkong, Kuomintang agent organizations have all along used Hongkong and Kowloon as a base for training special agents and carrying out subversive activities against the People's Republic of China. The recently arrested more than ten groups of Kuomintang agents, who had plotted to carry out sabotage activities in Canton on the evening of October 10, 1956 in co-ordination with the Kowloon riots, had all received technical training in sabotage, such as detonation, arson, distribution of handbills and agitation, in the Lung Hua Restaurant at Jordan Road and elsewhere in Kowloon. It was because of the consistent shielding and connivance of the British authorities in Hongkong that the Kuomintang agents had become more unbridled. And the Kowloon riots were exactly the result of such a policy of the British authorities in Hongkong. Therefore, the British authorities in Hongkong can never shirk the serious responsibility they should bear for these riots.

The Chinese Government and people are deeply concerned about the security of the Chinese inhabitants in Hongkong and Kowloon, and can never tolerate Kuomintang agents to carry out activities in Hongkong and Kowloon endangering the life and property of Chinese inhabitants, or to use Hongkong and Kowloon as a base for carrying out subversive activities against the China mainland. The Chinese Government and people firmly demand that the British authorities in Hongkong immediately arrest and severely punish the Kuomintang agent culprits, give compensation, comfort and relief to the affected Chinese inhabitants, shops and factories and

social organizations, and take other necessary measures to cope with the consequences of the riots, and effectively ensure the security of the life and property of the Chinese inhabitants in Hongkong and Kowloon and guarantee against similar incidents in the future.

STATEMENT OF THE OFFICE OF THE CHARGE D'AFFAIRES OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA IN LONDON ON THE VISIT OF THE SO-CALLED "CHINESE CLASSICAL THEATRE" TO BRITAIN

September 21, 1957

Certain British officials, some of the reports and reviews in the British press and a statement in the *Manchester Guardian* made by an agent presenting the Chiang Kai-shek air force opera company, have all tried very hard to describe the political plot of having the Chiang Kai-shek air force opera company perform in Britain as a purely "private business affair" and accuse this Office of imposing politics on matters of art.

But is the present issue a purely "private business affair"? Even a London dispatch of the *Irish Times* of September 14 pointed out that it cannot be assumed that the British Consulate in Taiwan would have granted visas off its bat. It is well known that the opera company was brought to London by a special plane of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. It is likewise evident that its coming to Britain has enjoyed official approval of the British authorities. When the company got down from the plane at the London airport, Chiang's flag was displayed. And at the premiere performance by the company on September 16, both Chiang's anthem and the British anthem were played while the audience, among them a British cabinet

minister, stood at attention. From all these, can we draw the conclusion that this is a purely "private business affair"?

Moreover, is it true that the only objective of the visit by this company is to give art performances? It is well known that this so-called "professional" company has been functioning all the time as a propaganda troupe of the Chiang's air force. As recently as last July, the company, led by a Chiang military officer with the rank of colonel, visited South Korea under the name of "National Opera Art Company of the Republic of China." Even now members of the company are living under strict military discipline in London. According to Chiang's Central News Agency, on the eve of the company's departure for Britain, all members of the company, accompanied by Wang Shu-ming, Chiang's present chief-of-staff and former commander of the air force, were received by Chiang Kai-shek himself. O. K. Yu, President of Chiang's Executive Yuan, also addressed the members personally, instructing them to step up subversive activities against New China. Faithfully following these instructions, the company, after its arrival in London, has done, and is still doing, everything possible to carry out its mission.

This being the case, who is actually mixing politics with matters of art? It is certainly not the Government and the people of the People's Republic of China. We have always stood for cultural exchange and friendly contacts between different peoples and countries. We firmly hold that these activities should be conducted in accordance with the principles of mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of each other. They should be conducted with a view to promoting mutual

understanding and friendship and must not be used to infringe on national dignity, undermine national unity, and interfere in the internal affairs of, and create ill feeling against the other country. These are the practices we resolutely oppose. The visit to Britain of the classical theatre of China in 1955 and Ballet Rambert's present visit to China clearly illustrate the sincere desire on the part of the Chinese Government and people to promote normal cultural exchange.

Everybody knows that Taiwan is a province of China. If there is a genuine private opera company from Taiwan of China, giving performances in a foreign country in the name of a theatre from Taiwan, or from a certain other locality of China, it would be quite a different thing. But the present so-called "Chinese Classical Theatre" which is now performing in Britain is something completely off the point.

To begin with, as has been said above, it is not a private opera company, but a propaganda organization of the air force of the Chiang Kai-shek clique. Secondly, it is not staging performances in the name of the locality of Taiwan as a province of the People's Republic of China. It is ostentatiously bearing the label of the so-called "Republic of China" and was brought here by a special plane with the purpose of conducting political activities to betray its fatherland and undermine the unification of China. Consequently, the nature of such activities is not cultural exchange and promotion of friendly relations between the people of China and Britain. On the contrary, it has as its objective the poisoning of Sino-British relations and fabrication of "two Chinas" to interfere in the internal affairs of China. This can certainly not be lightly taken for a "private business affair" or for some-

thing "irrelevant with politics." From this it can be seen obviously who is actually bringing politics into the matters of art.

For this reason, this Office finds it necessary to state once more that the Chinese Government and Chinese people resolutely oppose this so-called "Chinese Classical Theatre" conducting their harmful political activities in Britain under the cloak of art performance. We must expose such political intrigues which are hostile to China and poisoning the Sino-British relations built up with much effort and patience during the past few years. We believe that the British people will not be deceived nor will they approve such insidious activities inimical to the relationship between China and Britain.

Huan Hsiang
Charge d'Affaires of the People's Republic of China in London

APPENDIX

NEW TRICKS FOR OLD PLOT

Renmin Ribao Commentary, September 10, 1957

The Chiang Kai-shek clique is sending a so-called "National Opera Troupe of the Chinese Republic" to Britain. It will perform in London under the name of the "Chinese Classical Theatre" in mid-September. This troupe is in fact a Peking opera troupe belonging to the Chiang Kai-shek air force called the "Tapeng Troupe." The visit was arranged by Chen Yao-sheng, a former attaché of the erstwhile Chiang Kai-shek embassy in Britain, who has stayed on in London

to conduct activities against New China. According to the Chiang Kai-shek Central News Agency, the Chiang Kai-shek clique attaches great importance to the visit of this troupe. On the day of its departure, President of Chiang Kai-shek's "Executive Yuan" O.K. Yu personally addressed the troupe and instructed them to intensify their activities abroad against New China.

This arrangement made by Chen Yao-sheng has the support of certain people in the British ruling clique who harbour hostility towards New China. But while supporting the Chiang Kai-shek opera troupe's performing in Britain, they are afraid that the British people will discover the truth. Hence, they use this base and underhand trick of masquerading this air force troupe visiting England to carry on activities against New China. This is not all. In order to deceive the public and to steal and ruin the great reputation which our classical theatre gained during its performances in Europe and Britain two years ago, some British newspapers have gone so far as to launch a campaign of distortions, calumniating our "Chinese Classical Art Troupe" and glorifying the Chiang Kai-shek troupe. For instance, the August 12 issue of the London *Times* carried a news story calling this fake troupe an orthodox Peking opera company while labelling the Chinese Classical Art Troupe which built a great reputation in London two years ago, a corrupt school of the Peking opera. This is of course a mean slander of the Chinese Classical Art Troupe and Peking opera. But the British public will not be deceived by the distortions of the London *Times* which only exposed its ignorance of Chinese culture and its deliberate intention to jeopardize the normal development of cultural and friendly relations between the Chinese and British people.

It is out of the question that those people in the British ruling clique who are hostile to China have the slightest regard for Chinese culture and art. They are bent on back-

ing up the Chiang Kai-shek clique. They are daydreaming that one day the Chiang Kai-shek clique will effect a restoration on the mainland of China. They are toeing the U.S. line. They carry on open and clandestine contacts with the Chiang Kai-shek clique and support and encourage it openly and covertly in an attempt to prevent the Chinese people from liberating Taiwan and to create a "two Chinas" situation. The arrangements which they made for the Chiang Kai-shek troupe's performance in Britain are intended to intensify their campaign for "two Chinas" among the British public and to obstruct the cultural interchange and friendly relations between the Chinese and British people.

Since the beginning of this year, the collusive relations between these people in the British ruling clique and the Chiang Kai-shek clique have become more and more undisguised and frequent. Many signs show that Great Britain is intensifying its treacherous activities of creating "two Chinas." Some people in the British ruling clique, in order to give encouragement to the Chiang Kai-shek clique, have been openly advocating that Great Britain should attach greater importance to Taiwan, should maintain "friendly relations" and develop "business relations" with it. In March this year, British Conservative member of parliament William Burke Teeling visited Taiwan, the first British M.P. to visit Taiwan since Britain recognized China. He did everything he could to praise and encourage the Chiang Kai-shek clique. He even openly declared that should a war break out, Great Britain would fight on the side of Taiwan. Close on his heels, a "British Friendship Mission" visited Taiwan. This mission, consisting of a group of reactionary politicians, retired officers, professors, lawyers and journalists, was headed by a retired diplomat, Sir Alwyne Ogden, who had stayed years in China as consul-general. This mission arrogantly clamoured for "friendship" between Britain and Taiwan, openly slandered the People's Republic of China, branded

British recognition of China as "a serious mistake" and openly encouraged the Chiang Kai-shek clique to persist and wait for the opportunity to stage a counter-offensive against the mainland. Synchronized with this visit, the British Board of Trade sent two middle-ranking officers to visit Taiwan on an inspection trip allegedly with a view to expanding trade between Britain and Taiwan. They were followed in May by the visit to Taiwan by Labour M.P. Geoffrey Stanley de Freitas. During this period, the Chiang Kai-shek clique on its part sent members of the "Legislative Yuan" Hu Chiu-yuan and Hu Chien-chung and the former "Minister of Education" Cheng Tien-fang to Britain to carry out treacherous activities. Last August the Chiang Kai-shek clique sent a group of so-called "Chinese Boy Scouts" to carry on activities in London. It is not difficult to see that these activities, these arrogant clamours and this visit of the Chiang Kai-shek air force troupe to Britain are in no way accidental. They are part and parcel of the British plot of deliberately creating "two Chinas."

Great Britain is daily intensifying its collusion with Taiwan and actively advocating and promoting the plot of "two Chinas," in order to follow the line of and to act in co-ordination with the U.S. intrigue of creating "two Chinas" and to obstruct the Chinese people in liberating Taiwan. This British conduct which is antagonistic to China cannot but rouse the indignation of the Chinese people.

The Chinese people have time and again given stern warnings to Great Britain for its activities in creating "two Chinas." We would like once again in solemn terms to tell the British gentlemen engaged in creating "two Chinas": Taiwan will certainly be liberated, the plot of "two Chinas" will certainly fail. If Great Britain does not drop this plot, it will eventually boomerang against Great Britain itself.

NOTE OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA TO THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT PROTESTING AGAINST THE FORCIBLE CLOSURE OF THE PREMISES OF THE CHUNG HUA MIDDLE SCHOOL BY THE HONGKONG BRITISH AUTHORITIES

August 27, 1958

On the early morning of August 26, 1958 the British authorities in Hongkong, on the pretext of the "dangerous state" of the premises of the Chung Hua Middle School, dispatched a large group of armed police to close down by brute force the premises of the said school, allowed the armed police to lay hands savagely on the teachers, staff and students of the school as well as visiting news reporters on the spot from the Hsinhua News Agency branch in Hongkong and the Hongkong *Wenhui Pao*, *Ta Kung Pao* and *Hsinwan Pao*, smashing cameras of the Chinese reporters. This is a grave and violent act, on the part of the Hongkong British authorities, of persecution and oppression of Chinese people's educational work in Hongkong and Kowloon and infringement upon the right to news coverage of Chinese reporters.

The forcible closure of the Chung Hua Middle School by the Hongkong British authorities was entirely a premeditated action. Back at the time when the Hongkong British authorities began to fabricate the pretext of the "dangerous state" of the premises in an attempt to per-

secute the school, the school authorities already filed a request to the department concerned for undertaking repairs. But the department concerned purposely procrastinated in the matter so as to pursue its scheme of closing down the school. It must be pointed out that this was not the first time that the Hongkong British authorities persecuted Chinese people's educational work and Chinese educational workers in Hongkong and Kowloon. The Hongkong British authorities, after publishing the "Education (Amendment) Ordinance" at the beginning of this year, already persecuted and oppressed Chinese people's educational work and Chinese educational workers in Hongkong and Kowloon on many occasions and under various pretexts. Striking instances are the incident in May this year when the Hongkong British authorities prohibited Chinese schools from flying the Chinese national flag on festival days and that of August 6 when Mr. Parker Tu, principal of the Peichiao Middle School, was unreasonably deported. This series of repressive measures cannot but lead one to believe that the British authorities in Hongkong are pursuing a policy of deliberate sabotage and persecution of Chinese educational establishments in Hongkong and Kowloon.

On the other hand, the Hongkong British authorities have always shielded and connived at the propaganda and other activities carried out against the People's Republic of China by elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Hongkong and Kowloon under the pretence of running schools. Furthermore, they have even openly prescribed as textbooks for schools in Hongkong and Kowloon those published by the Chiang Kai-shek clique, which are filled with slanders against the People's Republic of China.

This proves that they are persisting in a hostile policy towards China and a policy of creating "two Chinas" in disregard of the repeated denunciations by the Chinese Government.

The Chinese in Hongkong and Kowloon have always had the right of running their own educational establishments. And the freedom and personal security to which reporters are entitled while engaged in legitimate news coverage is also a right recognized internationally. The Hongkong British authorities, however, have not only carried out oppressive measures against Chinese educational institutions in Hongkong and Kowloon, but have instigated their police to lay hands wantonly on Chinese teachers, staff, students and reporters. These are deliberate provocations against the Chinese people. The Chinese Government is extremely indignant at these provocations and hereby lodges a strong protest with the British Government. It demands that the British Government and the Hongkong British authorities immediately stop their provocations against the Chinese people, guarantee against similar incidents in the future, compensate for all the losses and injuries suffered by the victims and punish the police who committed the violence, reopen the premises of the Chung Hua Middle School and reasonably settle the question of repairs so that it may begin its term on time, and ensure the freedom of news coverage and personal security of Chinese reporters. At the same time, the British Government and the Hongkong British authorities should immediately annul the decision prescribing the use by schools in Hongkong and Kowloon of textbooks put out by the Chiang Kai-shek clique and put an end to the activities and sabotage against China

carried out by elements of the Chiang Kai-shek clique under the guise of running schools.

The Chinese Government asks the British Government to make a speedy reply.

APPENDIX

REPUDIATING THE SHAMELESS CHICANERY OF THE HONGKONG BRITISH AUTHORITIES

(Excerpts)

Renmin Ribao Commentary, August 31, 1958

The extraordinary outrages committed by the British authorities in Hongkong in suppressing and persecuting the educational establishments of the Chinese people in Hongkong and Kowloon and violating the right of Chinese journalists to cover news have given rise to mounting indignation among the Chinese inhabitants in Hongkong and Kowloon and the Chinese people as a whole. On August 27, the Chinese Foreign Ministry made a strong protest demanding that the British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong immediately stop these hostile provocations against the Chinese people. However, the British Government and the British authorities in Hongkong have so far failed to give a direct reply to the rightful, solemn protest and condemnation voiced by the Chinese Government and people; nor have they taken any effective measures to correct the situation. Instead, on August 29, the Colonial Secretary of Hongkong issued a statement which deliberately glosses over the facts, uses crooked methods to defend the unreasonable closure of the Chung Hua Middle School by the Hongkong British authorities and brazenly denies the crime of beating teachers

and students of the school and the Chinese reporters. This hostile, imperialist attitude which the Hongkong British authorities continue to take towards the Chinese people can only add fuel to the flaming anger of the Chinese people.

. . . . . .

The facts are perfectly clear: the forcible closure of the Chung Hua Middle School premises is part and parcel of the consistent policy on the part of the Hongkong British authorities of deliberately trampling on the Chinese people's educational establishments in Hongkong and Kowloon. In the past nine years, the British authorities in Hongkong have closed down schools run by the Chinese people, expelled Chinese teachers, interfered in the administrative affairs of Chinese schools and done just as they pleased, under such absurd charges as "unsafe building," "the Governor of Hongkong does not like it," "political activities" or "fire-prevention facilities not up to standard." It is a particularly sinister fact that the Hongkong British authorities have worked out a series of so-called education ordinances for this purpose, such as the "New Education Ordinance" of 1952, the "Permanent Notices" of 1953, the "List of Permissible Textbooks," and so forth, using every means to restrict and deprive the Chinese people of their right to run schools in Hongkong and Kowloon and suppress the Chinese people's educational establishments there. The lists of "permissible textbooks" approved by the Hongkong British authorities every year exclude textbooks published in China and even many published in Hongkong, but include large numbers of the so-called textbooks published by the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan and by U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek agents in Hongkong. The British authorities in Hongkong have also banned without any justifiable ground the staging of plays written by noted Chinese writers and films produced in China, or unreasonably mutilated and adulterated their contents. On the other hand, they have

never banned any reactionary publications of the Chiang Kai-shek clique, including *China's Destiny* written by Chiang Kai-shek. In spite of the fact that the British Government has recognized the People's Republic of China, the schools in Hongkong and Kowloon are not allowed to hoist the Chinese national flag, while allowing schools run by the U.S.-Chiang Kai-shek agents in Hongkong to freely hoist the flag of the Chiang Kai-shek clique without any interference. All this shows the flagrant character of the hostility maintained by the Hongkong British authorities towards the Chinese people's educational establishments, and their sheltering and conniving at the political conspiracies of the United States and the Chiang Kai-shek clique against New China.

The persecution and sabotage by the Hongkong British authorities of the Chinese people's educational establishments in Hongkong and Kowloon have become all the more flagrant this year. In doing so, the Hongkong British authorities have been harbouring the ulterior and unsavoury aim of trying to create a situation of "two Chinas" in co-ordination with the hostile policy of the U.S. imperialists towards the Chinese people. In the recent period, while the U.S. imperialists and the reactionary Chiang Kai-shek clique have been deploying forces and creating tension in the area of the Taiwan Straits, the British authorities in Hongkong have also stepped up their hostile activities against the Chinese people, by sending aircraft to intrude into China's territorial air, trampling on the Chinese people's educational establishments in Hongkong and Kowloon and persecuting the newspapers of the Chinese people in Hongkong. Is all this accidental?

The statement of the British authorities in Hongkong clearly shows that they not only refuse to abandon their hostile policy towards the Chinese people, but are brewing new schemes against them. The statement arrogantly alleges that the accounts given by the Chinese newspapers in Hongkong about the brutality of the Hongkong armed police were

"inflammatory and mischievous distortions of the fact." At the same time, in an editorial on August 28, the *South China Morning Post,* mouthpiece of the British authorities in Hongkong, openly threatened and bullied the Chinese newspapers in Hongkong, with the clamour: "How long and to what further extent should their campaign be tolerated?" and even went so far as to remind the Chinese newspapers in Hongkong of the possible "dangerous consequences." Here one can see more clearly the true intentions of the British authorities in Hongkong. In these circumstances, the Chinese inhabitants in Hongkong and Kowloon and all the Chinese people must, therefore, sharpen their vigilance, keep a close watch on the next hostile step which the British authorities in Hongkong may take against the Chinese people and firmly fight it.

APPENDIX

ON THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT'S PERSECUTION OF THE CHINESE RESIDENTS IN FRANCE

(Excerpts)

Renmin Ribao Commentary, October 28, 1957

The Chinese newspaper *Chiao Chung Pao,* financed and published by the Chinese residents in France, was forced, without reason, to suspend publication on August 30 on the order of the French authorities. On September 13, the French authorities in disregard of human rights went so far as to unreasonably arrest the editing staff of the *Chiao Chung Pao,* insulting them in every possible way and searching their premises and bodies. At present the French authorities are still serving summons on the Chinese residents. These unfriendly acts of the French Government in persecut-

ing the Chinese residents without reason cannot but arouse indignation and concern among the Chinese people.

. . . . . .

It is by no means accidental that the *Chiao Chung Pao* incident occurred on the eve of the visits to be made to Taiwan by right-wing French leaders, ex-premier Pinay and ex-minister Louis Jacquinot. The French government leaders have more than once openly indicated their willingness to develop economic and cultural intercourse with China and have also expressed time and again that they could not refuse to recognize the existence of New China with a population of 600 millions. Earlier in April 1957, the Foreign Affairs Committee of the French National Assembly unanimously passed a resolution, demanding the French Government to recognize New China. In spite of all these, the French Government is persistently following the United States and Britain in extending its collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek clique in Taiwan and stepping up the scheme of "two Chinas." Recently the right-wing leader Pinay paid a one-week visit to Taiwan at the invitation of Yeh Kung-chao. And Louis Jacquinot, a right-wing member of the National Assembly, also visited Taiwan as the representative of the French Premier. The "Tapeng Troupe," an opera company attached to the air force of the Chiang Kai-shek clique will give performances in France next month. All these show that certain people in the French ruling circles are taking an active part in the sinister activities of creating "two Chinas." In such circumstances, it is in no way accidental that the French authorities engineered the *Chiao Chung Pao* incident and persecuted the Chinese residents in France. This cannot but arouse concern among all the just-minded French people who advocate a realistic and friendly attitude towards New China.

Meanwhile, it should be pointed out that the Chinese Government has always encouraged the Chinese abroad to respect the laws and social customs of the countries in which they

reside and not to take part in political activities there. At the same time, the Chinese Government is also determined to safeguard their legitimate rights and interests. The Chinese people will absolutely not tolerate the outrageous persecution of their compatriots overseas by the French authorities. They demand that France should end its unfriendly actions at once and take effective measures to ensure the legitimate rights and interests of the Chinese residents.

APPENDIX

"CHIANG KAI-SHEK'S GERMANS"

Renmin Ribao Commentary, January 24, 1958

A West German Parliamentary Mission led by Richard Jaeger, Vice-President of the Bundestag, on January 6 visited China's territory of Taiwan which is now occupied by the U.S. imperialists and their puppet the Chiang Kai-shek clique. The mission consisted mainly of members of parliament of the ruling parties of the Adenauer government, six of whom belong to Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union and two to the German Party. Buch, who is chairman of the Salzgitter Industriebau Company of the West German Government, also went with the mission. These Bonn parliamentarians declared that the purpose of their visit was to strengthen co-operation between West Germany and Taiwan, develop economic and cultural relations and study the possibility of West German investment in Taiwan. On their arrival in Taiwan, they declared positive support for the Chiang Kai-shek clique which has long been repudiated by the Chinese people and they inspected China's coastal island of Quemoy, which is now occupied by Chiang Kai-shek troops, to boost their "morale."

It is quite obvious that this visit to Taiwan by a small group of Bonn parliamentarians is an extremely unfriendly act that is full of hostility towards the Chinese People's Republic. It found, however, support and encouragement from certain forces within the West German ruling bloc which are hostile towards China. They are not only doing their utmost to obstruct and undermine the traditional friendship and daily expanding economic and cultural relations between the people of West Germany and China, but openly supporting the U.S. imperialists' occupation of China's territory of Taiwan and the U.S. intrigue to create "two Chinas" to maintain tension in the Far East and the world. Although the West German Foreign Ministry has stated that the visit was a "completely private journey," the composition of the mission to Taiwan shows that the eight members of parliament in it belong to the ruling parties of the Federal Government and most of them are members of Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union. Is not the background of the mission obvious?

It must be pointed out that this policy of hostility towards China and serving as a cat's paw for the United States is entirely counter to the desire of both the Chinese and the West German people to promote friendly relations. It is also incompatible with the interests of all the German people who demand a relaxation of world tension and the peaceful unification of their country. No force on earth can change the fact of a new China rising in strength and developing with every passing day. The U.S. imperialists know that their scheme for supporting an attack on the mainland by Taiwan in order to place China once again under their control has gone bankrupt completely and permanently, and that there is not the slightest doubt that the Chinese people will recover Taiwan. The United States has resorted to pressure to obstruct recognition of China, but the tendency in the world today is for more and more countries to rec-

ognize China. There is nothing that can check this tendency. The situation has therefore become more and more unfavourable for the United States. Since the United States is unable to overthrow New China or divert world tendencies, it has, in order to perpetuate its occupation of China's Taiwan, changed its mind and made an attempt to create "two Chinas," separate Taiwan from its homeland and make it "independent," in the hope that this would legalize its armed occupation of Taiwan. For this purpose, the United States is actively canvassing certain countries and politicians to carry out manoeuvres for its "two Chinas" intrigue. It is not hard to see that the West German parliamentarians' visit to Taiwan was carried out in line with these circumstances. It is inevitable that this has aroused the strong opposition of the Chinese people. The U.S. imperialists' attempt to create "two Chinas" in order to occupy Taiwan permanently and to hamper the relaxation of tension in the Far East and the world will absolutely not be tolerated by the Chinese people, and will meet with firm opposition from the people of the world who treasure peace. Obviously, support for the U.S. policy of creating "two Chinas" will not facilitate the easing of international tension, nor will it benefit the German people's efforts for Germany's peaceful unification. On the contrary, it will benefit the U.S. imperialists' intrigues to split Germany permanently. It is therefore also firmly opposed by the German people. As to the alleged intention of the West German parliamentarians to make so-called investments in China's territory of Taiwan, against the will of the Government of the Chinese People's Republic which is the only representative of the Chinese people, this is certainly illegal and will not be recognized by the Chinese Government.

In brief, the hostile action of the group of West German parliamentarians in visiting Taiwan will do harm to the friendly relations between the Chinese and West German

people, nor will it bring any good to West Germany. The West German Social Democratic Party has correctly pointed out that this visit to Taiwan by the "Chiang Kai-shek's Germans" will be regarded as "a provocation directed against China and her 600 million people as well as the many other nations and governments in Asia," and that support for the Chiang Kai-shek government which is "in the shade of world politics" will "definitely fail to draw any sympathy from us." We believe that no realistic statesman of West Germany will sympathize with this hostile activity towards China. The Chinese people are willing to oppose, alongside the people of West Germany, this activity which disrupts friendly relations between the people of the two countries and creates international tension.

PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI'S TALK TO JAPANESE CORRESPONDENTS ON SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

(Excerpts)

July 25, 1957

Premier Chou En-lai received a delegation of the Japanese Civilian Radio Union headed by Masuyasu Tajiri and correspondents of the Kyodo News Agency and the *Asahi Shimbun* on July 25, and gave the following talk on Sino-Japanese relations.

Premier Chou En-lai said that since the end of the war, the Chinese people have shown their readiness to be on friendly terms with the Japanese people. This can be seen from the efforts made by China in the past eight years since the liberation. At the same time our contacts with Japanese friends who have visited China and the activities of the Japanese people in their own country lead us to believe that they, too, desire to be on friendly terms with the Chinese people. These two factors provide the basic conditions for advancing friendly relations between the two countries. Prompted by this desire for friendship, the Chinese and Japanese peoples have more and more frequently paid visits to each other's country. In their contacts with the Chinese people, our Japanese friends are able to realize that the Chinese people want to ensure the steady disappearance of the once unpleasant

relations and the growth of new friendly relations on the foundations of nearly two thousand years of mutual friendship. This is feasible, and the chances of bringing it to fruition are increasing daily.

Premier Chou En-lai pointed out that a number of agreements have been signed over the past few years between many civilian or semi-official organizations of the two countries and a majority of these have gone into effect. The fact that normal relations have not yet been restored between China and Japan, and, what is more, in international law a state of war still exists between the two countries, has not hampered friendly intercourse and the signing of non-official agreements between the peoples of the two countries. In this way, starting from the frequent non-official visits and agreements, relations can be advanced considerably between the two countries, finally leaving only the questions of the diplomatic announcement of the ending of the state of war and the resumption of normal relations.

Premier Chou En-lai added that it may be said that this approach of ours sets a new example in the annals of international relations. It is with such a feeling of pleasure and hope that we are carrying on our people's diplomacy. We regard this people's diplomacy as an important integral part of our diplomacy as a whole. He hoped our Japanese friends will take the same view.

Premier Chou En-lai said that this view of his has evoked a favourable response among many Japanese friends. As to the Japanese Government, some concrete analysis is necessary. Ex-Premier Yoshida was hostile to China. So a desire for friendship on his part was out of the question. But his successors Hatoyama and Ishibashi had the desire. As to Premier Nobusuke Kishi,

though he should have gone further in manifesting this desire, in fact he has fallen back from the stand taken by his predecessors, Hatoyama and Ishibashi.

Premier Chou En-lai then cited some examples showing the hostility of the Kishi cabinet to China and its efforts to sow discord in the relations between other Asian countries and China. He refuted the points one by one.

Referring to Kishi's trip to Taiwan and his statement there supporting Chiang Kai-shek's "recovery of the mainland," Premier Chou En-lai said that for Kishi after forming his cabinet to visit other Asian nations on behalf of Japan, as a member nation of Asia, was in essence sound. It was also understandable, in the light of Japan's present position, that Premier Kishi did not come to visit China for the time being. But instead he went to Taiwan. Kishi did what Hatoyama, Ishibashi and Yoshida had not done. The Chinese people feel very strongly about this. Not only so but, as *Asahi Shimbun* reported on June 4, Kishi told Chiang Kai-shek while he was in Taiwan: "I would consider it very good if the mainland could be recovered." This obviously meant that Kishi was behind Chiang Kai-shek in his plot of "recovering the mainland," showing that Kishi did not hesitate to come out in open hostility to the 600 million Chinese people.

Premier Chou En-lai refuted the slanders made by Kishi against China during his visit to the United States. According to an *AP* report from Denver on July 4, Kishi told American reporters that "the Chinese Communists would try to infiltrate the whole of Asia."

Premier Chou En-lai said that Japan today is under the control of the United States and Kishi's visit to the United States can be understood. We have no objection to Ja-

pan's friendship with the United States. We advocate friendship between all nations and are against mutual hostility. But the point is that Kishi went to the United States to curry favour with his American masters by slinging mud at New China.

Premier Chou En-lai said that there are many facts proving that we are willing to co-exist peacefully with all other Asian nations. Time and again we have said that after normal relations have been restored between them, China and Japan can sign a treaty of friendship and non-aggression. In talks with the delegation of the Japanese Socialist Party, both Chairman Mao Tse-tung and Premier Chou pointed out that as soon as Japan abrogates the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty and the United States removes its military bases from Japan and withdraws its armed forces to enable Japan to gain full independence, the provisions of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Assistance and Alliance aimed at guarding against the revival of Japanese militarism and its being used by others may be revised.

We have said all this before, but the Japanese Government has failed to act on the basis of these facts. On the contrary, in disregard of the facts, Kishi made slanderous statements about China while he was in the United States. We consider this highly regrettable.

Premier Chou En-lai went on to refute the statement made by Kishi in India aimed at sowing discord between China and India. On May 24, the Press Trust of India reported from New Delhi that Kishi made a statement saying: "The resolution that the Chinese People's Republic is not a member of the United Nations but an aggressor country still holds good. For this reason we cannot recognize Communist China."

Premier Chou En-lai pointed out that this statement of Kishi's was extremely absurd. He said that India supports the restoration to New China of its position in the United Nations. India regards China as a trustworthy friend. It is a very unfriendly action for Kishi in India to sow discord between India and China. During Premier Chou's visit to eight Asian countries, he had the opportunity of meeting some of the Japanese diplomatic envoys in those countries and told them that Japan should be friendly to Asian countries. He also advised South-east Asian countries to be friendly to Japan. He did this in accordance with the principles laid down at the Bandung Conference. But the Japanese Premier acted otherwise. He not only refuses to recognize China, but goes to another country to slander China and try to spoil relations between that country and China. This is not the position of the Japanese Socialist Party which advocates recognition of New China and opposes the intrigues of creating "two Chinas." The Socialist Party is a political party. So is the Liberal-Democratic Party. There are people in the Liberal-Democratic Party who advocate recognition of New China.

. . . . . .

Premier Chou En-lai concluded: In view of all these facts, we cannot but wonder whether Premier Nobusuke Kishi has not set out deliberately to seek trouble with China, to alienate other Asian countries from China, and to curry favour with the United States by vilifying China so as to procure U.S. aid for rearming Japan and reviving militarism. We hope that Japan will be able to free itself from the control of the United States and soon restore normal relations with China. Premier Kishi's

way of doing things is contrary to our hopes. Nevertheless, we are always confident that the Japanese people desire friendly relations with China.

APPENDIX

OPPOSE ANY ATTEMPT TO CREATE "TWO CHINAS"

Renmin Ribao Commentary, December 2, 1957

To strive for the early restoration of the diplomatic relations between China and Japan is a problem with which the peoples of China and Japan have always been concerned for the past few years. It is also a goal for which the peoples of the two countries have been working jointly. The Goodwill Mission of the Japanese Socialist Party, the Delegation of the Japanese National Council for the Restoration of Japan-China Diplomatic Relations and the Delegation of the Japan-China Friendship Association, which visited China this year, have expressed their desires to promote the normalization of the diplomatic relations between China and Japan, and denounced the plot to create "two Chinas" in the joint declarations made with the organizations concerned in our country. Recently, the Japanese Socialist Party has again sent a Goodwill Mission to visit China, and various organizations and individuals in Tokyo who had visited China organized a "Forum for Tokyo Visitors to China" for the purpose of advancing the campaign to restore Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations. We believe that by adhering to the common stand expressed by the peoples of the two countries time and again, efforts made by friends in Japan for the normalization of the Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations will produce beneficial results.

However, the counter-current to prevent the restoration of normal relations between China and Japan has frequently come to the fore in Japan. A latest example in this connection was the allegation spread by the Japanese Premier Nobusuke Kishi at the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Upper House on November 12 that the question of "two Chinas" has to be "adjusted." This allegation of Kishi was not only a flagrant intervention in the internal affairs of China, but also an echo to the United States plot of splitting China's territory. During his visits to South-east Asia and the United States in June this year, Kishi made a series of slanderous statements inimical to China. After being rebuked by Premier Chou En-lai on rightful and solemn grounds and in the face of Japanese public opinion strongly craving for friendship with China, Kishi has time and again made excuses for himself. But the above allegation once again revealed his unfriendly attitude towards the Chinese people.

Kishi alleged that the tense situation in the Taiwan Straits "is the result of the Nationalists and Communists claiming sovereignty over mainland China" and that "unless their contentions are adjusted there can be no allaying of tension." This is evidently nonsense; it deliberately confuses right with wrong. The Chinese people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, overthrew the dark rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and liberated the entire mainland of China. Taiwan is a province of China. There is only the question of liberating Taiwan by the Chinese people, but there is absolutely no such question as the so-called "contentions" for China's sovereignty. The liberation of Taiwan is an internal problem of China which admits of no intervention by any outside forces. As to the tension in the Taiwan area, it is entirely a result of the U.S. illegal occupation of Chinese territory of Taiwan. It is a question of relations between China and the United States

arising in the Taiwan area. For the purpose of preserving world peace and lessening international tension, the Chinese Government has consistently advocated peaceful talks with the United States to seek for the elimination of tension in the Taiwan area. The United States Government has not only rejected China's proposal but has incessantly stepped up its control over Taiwan. This is the root of the long-standing tension in the Taiwan area. The question of Sino-American relations arising in the Taiwan area and the liberation of Taiwan by the Chinese people which is China's domestic affairs, are two questions with entirely different character. Kishi has deliberately mixed up these two questions in order to whitewash the United States aggression against China. Obviously, he does not intend to eliminate tension but, instead, pursues ulterior objectives.

The United States is of late actively contriving to create a situation of "two Chinas" with the intent to establish permanent control over Taiwan and get rid of the more and more isolated and difficult position in its China policy. Not long ago, the United States openly played the main role in the "two Chinas" farce staged at the 19th International Red Cross Conference.

The absurd statement made by Kishi this time shows his willingness to follow the United States and to become an assistant in its plot of creating "two Chinas." Since taking office, Kishi and his cabinet have all along played the shameful role of following the United States to obstruct the restoration of normal relations between China and Japan. This has aroused more and more complaints among the Japanese people. Kishi might think that by echoing the United States "two Chinas" tune, he could both please the United States and cover up his own awkward position resulting from his China policy. But the desire of the Japanese people for friendship with China and restoration of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations at an early date is strong and popular. A

number of Japanese people's organizations with a broad representative character have repeatedly expressed that the campaign for restoring the Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations should not be used for any scheme of creating "two Chinas." This righteous stand has gained ever-increasing support and approval from the broad mass of the Japanese people. By using the question of "two Chinas," Kishi intends to confuse right and wrong and deceive the Japanese people. This attempt not only will prove futile but will be denounced and repudiated by the broad mass of Japanese people who earnestly hope for an early normalization of Sino-Japanese diplomatic relations.

The Chinese people will join hands with the Japanese people in their efforts to promote normal Sino-Japanese relations. Precisely for this reason, the Chinese and Japanese peoples must strongly oppose any attempt of creating "two Chinas" which will hamper such efforts.

VICE-PREMIER AND FOREIGN MINISTER CHEN YI'S TALK ON SINO-JAPANESE RELATIONS

May 9, 1958

Vice-Premier and Foreign Minister Chen Yi received a Hsinhua correspondent on May 9 and outlined his views on present Sino-Japanese relations.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi stressed that Japanese Prime Minister Nobusuke Kishi, in order to curry favour with the United States and the Chiang Kai-shek clique, has of late openly sabotaged the Sino-Japanese trade agreement and made malicious attacks on China, and that the Chinese people cannot but be enraged by these provocations. The Vice-Premier specifically cited the incident at Nagasaki, where the Kishi government connived with thugs in insulting the Chinese national flag, an incident which shows that the Kishi government's hostile attitude to China has become intolerable.

The Chinese people, the Vice-Premier pointed out, are willing to co-exist with the Japanese people on a friendly basis and have always worked for the promotion of Sino-Japanese friendship. As a result, the economic and cultural ties and friendly contacts between the two countries have developed greatly within the past few years thanks to the continuous efforts made by the peoples of both countries, despite the fact that the Japanese Government was subservient to the will of the United States and that the state of war between China and Japan has not

been terminated. More than forty agreements concluded between people's organizations and semi-official bodies of the two countries played a notable part in promoting friendly relations between the two peoples. The Chinese Government has consistently given active support to friendly contacts between the Chinese and Japanese peoples and these agreements. Our attitude was welcomed by the broad mass of the Japanese people. But the Kishi government, in contrast, has always adopted a hostile and ill-intentioned attitude towards our country, and has mistaken China's goodwill as a sign of weakness. Kishi, on the one hand, has expressed the intention of expanding Sino-Japanese trade in order to derive economic gains from China; but on the other hand, he crudely sabotaged the Sino-Japanese trade agreement, allowed thugs to insult the Chinese national flag in Nagasaki, and personally took the lead in repeatedly making slanderous statements against China. This outrageous attitude of Kishi's thoroughly exposes his true imperialist colours.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi pointed out that the Japanese Government's imperialist way of dealing with China in the past had received a sound thrashing from the Chinese people and ended nowhere. Today, when the Chinese people have stood up, the Kishi government's attempts to follow once again an imperialist way in dealing with China will most assuredly fare worse. Kishi is cutting off his nose to spite his face.

The Vice-Premier refuted Kishi's preposterous utterances regarding the Sino-Japanese trade.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi said that the Kishi clique claims endlessly that it wants to "separate trade from politics." Invariably, however, when they talk about Sino-Japanese

trade, they hasten to add that they "do not recognize China," and that they will consider the question in conjunction with their relations with the Chiang Kai-shek clique on Taiwan and other international relations (meaning Japan-U.S. relations). From this it can be seen that what they oppose is the linking up of Sino-Japanese trade with friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples, and what they want is to make Sino-Japanese trade serve their politics of currying favour with the United States, acting in collusion with the Chiang Kai-shek clique and pursuing a policy of hostility to China. That is the ulterior motive behind their clamour for the separation of trade from politics. The Chinese people firmly oppose this stand of theirs.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi severely rebuked Kishi's preposterous statements which refuse to recognize the People's Republic of China as an independent state and which maintain that the Chinese national flag is to be viewed as private property. The Vice-Premier pointed out that the Nagasaki incident in which the Chinese national flag was insulted had been instigated with the direct connivance and protection of the Kishi government. He said that these statements and actions are an insult to the People's Republic of China and a deliberate provocation against the six hundred million Chinese people. The Kishi government must bear full responsibility for all the consequences arising from this insult and provocation.

Vice-Premier Chen Yi referred to Kishi's claim that his sabotage of the trade agreement, which creates a situation in which no agreement exists, will not obstruct the development of trade between the two countries. Kishi apparently thinks that China has to trade with Japan and that the absence of an agreement might make

it easier for him to impose the will of the Japanese monopoly groups on China. But Kishi forgets that the powerful and independent New China, which has driven out all of the imperialists, will never permit itself to be ordered about by others. New China does not lean on any imperialist country. The United States Government, by lining up the governments of many countries, including Japan, to impose a trade embargo on China, has failed to crush New China. Does Kishi really think that New China, which is forging ahead by leaps and bounds, has to trade with Japan on Kishi's terms? It is truly the babbling nonsense of a fool!

In conclusion, Vice-Premier Chen Yi pointed out that the Kishi government's endeavour to curry the favour of the United States and the Chiang Kai-shek clique by sabotaging Sino-Japanese trade, insulting China and antagonizing the six hundred million Chinese people would bring absolutely no good to the Japanese people. On the contrary, it can only lead Japan to a more unfortunate path. We know that Kishi's attitude absolutely does not represent the will of the Japanese people. The Japanese Socialist Party differs with Kishi, and is in favour of restoring diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China on the basis of non-recognition of "two Chinas." Even within the Japanese Liberal-Democratic Party there are persons who disagree with Kishi's policy of persistent hostility to our country. It is up to Kishi himself to choose whether to side with the Japanese people and abandon the policy of hostility to China, or to keep on following the United States and persist in the policy of hostility to China. Should Kishi insist on remaining hostile to New China to the end, he will surely reap what he has sown. The friendship be-

tween the Chinese and Japanese peoples is indestructible. We are convinced that despite all attempts at obstruction and sabotage, the friendship between the Chinese and Japanese peoples will eventually overcome all obstacles and continue to forge ahead.

APPENDIX

A CONSPIRACY AGAINST THE CHINESE PEOPLE

Kung Pu-sheng

Under the leadership of the great Communist Party of China, the Chinese people, in a bitter struggle lasting almost 30 years, overthrew the rule of the imperialists, feudal lords and bureaucratic capital. The Chinese people have put an end to the shameful semi-colonial, semi-feudal past. In place of an oppressed and enslaved country, they have established the Chinese People's Republic, in which they are the sole masters.

Now that the three-year rehabilitation period and the First Five-Year Plan have been successfully completed it is obvious to everybody that People's China stands firmly on its feet and that there is no power on earth that can prevent its rapid and confident advance along the road to becoming a mighty socialist power with modern industries and progressive agriculture. That New China is developing and growing stronger is an undeniable fact; such is the inevitable course of historical development.

The Chinese People's Republic is a socialist state: its foreign policy is and must be a policy contributing to world peace and friendly co-existence between all nations. Since its very inception People's China has established relations of a new type; close relations based on fraternal,

international solidarity, mutual assistance and co-operation with all the countries in the socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union. It has also established friendly relations with many Asian and African countries, as well as normal diplomatic relations with some West European countries. The famous five principles of peaceful co-existence, formulated by the Premiers of China and India in June 1954, were welcomed by the peoples of Asia and Africa and by all the socialist countries. Today many other countries have voiced their approval of these principles and regard them as general principles regulating relations between nations.

At the Geneva Conference in 1954 and at the Bandung Conference of 29 Asian-African countries in 1955, China's stand made an important contribution to peace in the Far East and throughout the world. Despite the intrigues of the U.S. ruling circles, hostile to People's China, it has established during its eight-year existence official diplomatic relations with 27 countries and semi-official diplomatic relations with two others; China maintains commercial relations with 68 countries and cultural relations and friendly contacts with 101 countries and areas. This is evidence of the fact that People's China is not isolated. Despite the efforts of U.S. imperialism, China has numerous friends in all parts of the world.

The fact that New China is constantly developing and is growing ever stronger has forced even the rulers of the U.S. to realize that they will never be able to destroy it and that their insane dreams of helping Chiang Kai-shek organize a counter-offensive against the mainland will never come to anything. More and more countries are coming round to see that People's China must be recognized. The United States is no longer able to

check this tendency; it is also becoming more and more difficult for them to prevent the Chinese People's Republic from regaining its rightful place in the United Nations. U.S. policy towards China is meeting with growing opposition both in the U.S. and abroad. Its continuance must inevitably lead to the further isolation of the U.S.

The U.S. rulers, however, show no intention of renouncing their aggressive policy of maintaining their hold on Taiwan as a threat to New China and peace in the Far East. In view of their difficulties the U.S. rulers are seeking a way out of the deadlock into which their bankrupt policy towards China has led them. They are now hunting for ways of creating "two Chinas" as a means of alienating Taiwan from China and perpetuating their rule of the island. This act of sabotage is a deep-laid political conspiracy. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan and will not allow the U.S. to carry out its intentions. All the friends of peace must be exceedingly vigilant with regard to these U.S. attempts to create "two Chinas."

I

In their efforts to prepare the way for the creation of "two Chinas," U.S.-sponsored politicians and propagandists are seeking any sort of "theoretical" justification, no matter how absurd, for arguments that Taiwan does not belong to China. It is obvious that the political cardsharpers must have an "ace" of this sort, since there can be no question of "two Chinas" once it is admitted that Taiwan belongs to China. Some of them, in an excess of zeal, have gone so far as to distort the facts of

history. They insist that Taiwan has never belonged to China but has always been "independent territory." When this lie proved ineffective in the light of the Cairo Declaration which clearly refers to the return of Taiwan and the Penghu Islands to China, the politicians began to deny the legality of the Cairo Declaration and to invent a new story to the effect that "Taiwan's status has not been fully defined." They asserted that the Cairo Declaration is a political statement that has not been given legal form and cannot, therefore, have any legal force.

According to another version, the Cairo Declaration is not applicable because of the considerable changes which have since taken place in the world situation. Those who support this version draw their arguments from the articles of the Japanese Peace Treaty that was separately concluded by the United States. According to the Treaty, they say, Japan forfeits all rights and claims to the regions she relinquishes under the Treaty (including Taiwan), while the final status of those territories is not defined.

In the light of this, a number of "viewpoints" are put forward. One of them is that, from September 1, 1945, sovereignty over Taiwan belongs to the U.N. since it passed to the countries that accepted Japan's capitulation. Others propose that Taiwan's status be determined by a plebiscite, that U.N. trusteeship be established or some other form be found. The present U.S. State Secretary, Dulles, for example, announced cynically at the meeting of the Political Committee of the 5th Session of the General Assembly on November 27, 1950, that "it should be borne in mind that Formosa is still of international interest as a former Japanese colony the status

of which is still undecided. Considering the tremendous military efforts and the great sacrifices made by the U.S. in that area, it is only natural that the U.S. should have some voice in the determination of the future of Formosa."

The falseness and absurdity of such an assertion is so obvious that we could have passed it over in silence. Taiwan has always been part of Chinese territory — this is an historical fact that cannot be refuted by any inventions. However, since such inventions may mislead those who are not acquainted with the true state of affairs, it will not be out of place to give a brief summary of the facts.

The Chinese set foot on Taiwan long ago, 900 years before Columbus discovered America. The mass migration of Chinese to Taiwan began in the 9th century. In the 14th century, at the time of the Yuan dynasty, the Chinese Government set up a "board of inspection" on the island as a local government body. For more than 500 years after this Taiwan administratively formed part of the Chinese province of Fukien. In 1887, the Ching government of China turned Taiwan into an independent province on account of its growing importance for the defence of the country from the sea; it was then subordinated directly to the Chinese central government. It, therefore, follows that up to the Sino-Japanese war of 1894 China had for many centuries had an effective sovereignty over Taiwan.

Of the more than eight million inhabitants of the island today 98 per cent are Han, that is, Chinese by nationality. The majority of them originally came from the provinces of Fukien and Kwangtung. They speak the local Chinese

dialects—Southern Fukien and Kwangtung (Kochia)[1]—and their culture is purely Chinese. Two per cent of the population of the island are Kaoshan[2] and, like all others, are one of the national minorities of China. Politically, culturally and nationally, therefore, Taiwan is an integral part of Chinese territory. This indisputable historical fact cannot be refuted by any of the verbal declarations of political jugglers who have only their own selfish aims in view. Later, when the rotten and inept Ching government lost the war with Japan as a result of its treacherous policy and on April 17, 1895, signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki, Taiwan, that rich and beautiful Chinese district, was seized by Japan.

The Heads of Government of the U.S.A., China and Great Britain recognized in the Cairo Declaration the fact that Taiwan is an inalienable part of Chinese territory and that Japanese rule in Taiwan was the result of the predatory seizure of Chinese territory. They declared that "it is their purpose that. . . all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa and the Pescadores,[3] shall be restored to the Republic of China."

On December 24, 1943, the then President of the U.S., Franklin D. Roosevelt, speaking on the radio about the signing of the Cairo Declaration, explained that its principles were "as simple as they are fundamental. They involved the restoration of stolen property to its rightful owners." In the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945, which had as its object the acceleration of Japan's capi-

[1] One of the local Kwangtung dialects.

[2] Descendants of the aborigines of Taiwan.

[3] North-eastern China, Taiwan and the Penghu Islands.

tulation, China, the U.S.A. and Great Britain again stated that "the terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out." The first paragraph of the terms of capitulation signed on September 2 that same year by China, the U.S.S.R., Great Britain, the U.S.A., Australia, Canada, France, Holland and New Zealand, on the one hand, and Japan, on the other, again laid down that Japan accepted all the terms of the Potsdam Declaration.

The fact that Taiwan should be returned to its motherland has, therefore, been confirmed by a number of international agreements. It is still more important to bear in mind that these international documents were signed and published by all interested states, including the U.S., and, therefore, became obligatory rules of international law that should have been respected by all countries in their post-war relations. It follows, therefore, that attempts to show that the Cairo Declaration is without legal force are nothing more than a breach of international obligations.

Historical facts also tell us that *on October 25, 1945, Taiwan was officially returned to China* in accordance with the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations. On that day, Chen Yi,[1] who had been appointed by the Chinese Government to accept the capitulation of the Japanese on Taiwan, presided over the ceremony at which the capitulation of Japanese troops on the island was accepted and announced over the radio to the whole world: "Today Taiwan and the Penghu Islands have been officially reunited with China."

Actually, until June 1950, not one country, not one single statesman in the world — including the U.S. Gov-

[1] A Kuomintang general, and administrator of Taiwan during 1945-48. He died in 1949.

ernment and its leaders — in any way doubted either the legal basis or the fact of Taiwan's return to China. Today, certain official personages and "theoreticians" in the U.S. in their efforts to justify U.S. acts of aggression on Taiwan, are so inconsistent that it may be worthwhile to remind them of some of the facts.

In the White Paper *United States Relations with China* published by U.S. State Department in August 1949, it is said: "By the terms of the Cairo Declaration of December 1, 1943, the United States and China declared their intention that Formosa should be restored to China. In September 1945, the administration of the island was taken over from the Japanese by Chinese forces. . . . The native population for 50 years had been under the rule of a foreign invader and therefore welcomed the Chinese forces as liberators. During the Japanese occupation the principal hope of the people had been the union with the mainland" (pp. 307-308).

On January 5, 1950, Harry Truman, the then President of the U.S., said: ". . . For the past four years the United States and the other Allied Powers have accepted the exercise of Chinese authority over the island. . . . The United States has no predatory designs on Formosa or on any Chinese territory. . . . The United States Government will not pursue a course which will lead to involvement in the civil conflict in China."

On January 5, 1950, Dean Acheson, the then U.S. Secretary of State, explaining the above statement of Truman, said that the Chinese people had been governing Taiwan for four years. The U.S. and its allies had never disputed this as China's right and did not protest against the occupation of the island by China. When

Taiwan was declared a province of China nobody raised any legal objections.

Such were the statements of official spokesmen of the U.S. Government, American statesmen. Only a little time has passed since then but certain gentlemen in the U.S. have begun to invent all sorts of reasons for denying that Taiwan belongs to China. This jumping from side to side is yet one more revelation of the aggressive character of the U.S. rulers who want to seize Taiwan.

II

Among the hack-journalists who, on orders, are writing in support of the creation of "two Chinas" are, of course, those who realize that attempts to deny China's right to Taiwan are without foundation in view of historical facts. They, consequently, are trying to play on the feelings of those working for a relaxation of world tension and the recognition of New China and are putting forward equally foolish ideas that boil down to the following: we cannot turn our backs on reality, New China must be recognized, but at the same time Taiwan must also be recognized as a separate state.

Although there are a number of different theories and formulations put forward by champions of this "idea," they are, in essence, all the same — in so far as the Government of the Chinese People's Republic and Chiang Kai-shek's regime on Taiwan are facts and since, in the foreseeable future, the Chinese People's Republic cannot liberate Taiwan nor Chiang Kai-shek continental China, the existing state of affairs must be recognized, i.e., "two Chinas." They hypocritically maintain that

such a solution would be to China's advantage, since the Chinese People's Republic would then be recognized by the United States, Sino-American relations would become normal and world tension would be slackened. These people are allowing their imaginations to run away with them in making plans for the future. They propose that the "two Chinas" should exist side by side — one will be called the Chinese People's Republic and the other the Republic of China. There are others who think that the Chinese People's Republic should speak in the name of China as it possesses an extensive territory, a big population and a tremendous potential; the island, they say, should become a separate state of Taiwan.

At the same time all sorts of plans are being drawn up for giving the "two Chinas" their places in the United Nations. There are those who propose that the Chinese People's Republic should be given a place on the Security Council, while the Chiang Kai-shek clique should have a place in the General Assembly only, as an independent state of Taiwan. There are others who, on the contrary, insist that the Chiang Kai-shek gang, under the name of the Chinese Republic, should remain on the Security Council and that the Chinese People's Republic, as a new member of the U.N., should only be allowed to sit in the General Assembly. There is a third party that insists that the "two Chinas" should both be confined to the General Assembly and that China's place on the Security Council should be given to some other Asian Power. There are also those who plan, as we have mentioned before, either to place Taiwan under U.N. trusteeship, or to decide its future by a plebiscite, etc., etc. There is a wide choice but all amount to the same thing — cutting Taiwan off from China and perpetuating the

puppet regime that is turning Taiwan into a U.S. protectorate.

U.S.-sponsored politicians realize that U.S. policy in respect of China is on the verge of bankruptcy. They are worried because the "tough policy" of the U.S. Government may lead them into a deadlock from which there is no way out. That is why they insist that a complete *volteface* be made immediately since the United States would then be able to negotiate favourable "terms" in exchange for the recognition of the Chinese People's Republic and its admission to the U.N. The most important of these "terms" is that New China should renounce her intention of liberating Taiwan and recognize its "independence." These gentlemen are victims of an illusion if they assume that China is so anxious for American recognition and a place in the U.N. that it will not hesitate to trade away its sovereign rights and suffer national degradation. There are those who still do not understand that the Chinese People's Republic is never anxious for American recognition. Even if the U.S. does not recognize New China for 10, 15 or even 100 years it will not shake the determination of the Chinese people to liberate Taiwan and prevent the creation of "two Chinas."

Unfortunately, this misconceived theory of "two Chinas" that the U.S. is putting about with the aim of enslaving Taiwan is misleading some people who may, probably, be motivated by good intentions. They naturally realize that U.S. invasion of Taiwan is a source of tension in the Far East, they want to ease that tension but do not realize the full extent of U.S. intrigues or the danger of compromising with an aggressor. They underestimate the strength of the Chinese people and

the peoples of the world. They are looking for an easy way out and are using the slogan of "realistic" politics to obtain a temporary solution to the problem by maintaining the status quo and compromising with the aggressor. They forget the lessons of Munich on the eve of the Second World War and also ignore the fact that New China, freed of the chains of slavery, is not an object for conquest. They do not understand that any toleration of the aggressor only serves to whet his appetite and this the Chinese people cannot accept. If the ideas of the champions of "two Chinas" were implemented they would not even ease, still less eliminate, tension in the Far East. They would, on the contrary, preserve the source of tension for a long period and would thus still more adversely affect the Far Eastern situation.

The Chinese people are realistic, they recognize facts. And what are the facts? The facts are the following: the Chinese people by revolution overthrew the reactionary Kuomintang government that was rotten to the core, and formed the Chinese People's Republic. According to the generally accepted principles of international law, the Government of the Chinese People's Republic is the successor to the former government of the Chinese Republic and is the only lawful government of China. As far as the relations between the Government of the Chinese People's Republic and the remnants of the Chiang Kai-shek gang on Taiwan are concerned, it is a purely internal question in which no other country has the right to interfere. Any attempt to alienate from China part of her territory will meet with a resolute rebuff from the Chinese people and is doomed to failure. The

Chinese people are determined to liberate their territory, the island of Taiwan.

These are the facts that are recognized by the Chinese people and by all peoples who defend the cause of peace and justice.

In recent times the following viewpoint has been put forward at international conferences and in international organizations: since East and West Germany, North and South Korea, and North and South Vietnam can participate in international conferences and organizations, why cannot "two Chinas" participate side by side? This approach to the problem confuses two completely different issues and is, therefore, without foundation. It is well known that the situation which led to the formation of East and West Germany and North and South Korea resulted from the Second World War, and that the temporary division of Vietnam into North and South was recognized by the Geneva Conference.

Those who are acquainted with the history of the Second World War will, of course, remember that the Yalta Declaration of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and Great Britain of February 11, 1945, the Agreement on the Control Machinery in Germany signed by the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Great Britain and France of June 5, 1945, and the Potsdam Declaration of the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and Great Britain of August 3 of that same year provided that four countries — the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Great Britain and France, each in its own occupation zone — should be invested with supreme power while Germany was fulfilling the chief requirements under the terms of her unconditional surrender. The lofty aim of this policy was the establishment of an independent, democratic, peace-loving, united Germany. It is only the obstacles erected

by the U.S. and other Western Powers that have, for the 12 years that have elapsed since the war, prevented agreement on a peaceful solution of the German problem. This is the reason for the formation of two sovereign states on German territory, each of which is recognized by a number of other countries. This, too, is only a temporary situation since the German people are struggling tirelessly for the peaceful reunion of their country.

The present division of Korea results from an agreement between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. in 1945, during the Second World War, which determined the 38th parallel as the line of demarcation for operations by Allied troops in Korea. In the summer of 1948, with the support of U.S. occupation authorities, Syngman Rhee's puppet government was set up in South Korea. In September of the same year, the Korean people established the Korean People's Democratic Republic by means of general elections. When the Americans were repulsed by the Korean and Chinese peoples in the aggressive war they unleashed in 1950, an armistice agreement was signed by North and South Korea in 1953 and the boundary between them was demarcated. Provision was also made for the peaceful reunion of Korea by means of an agreement to be concluded between all interested countries, including North and South Korea.

The present division of Vietnam also has causes of its own. In 1945, after a long struggle, the Vietnamese people drove out the Japanese invaders and set up the Democratic Republic of Vietnam. They were then victorious in the war launched by the French colonialists who invaded Indo-China. In 1954, a conference was held in Geneva, at which the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A., Great Britain, France, the Chinese People's Republic, the Dem-

ocratic Republic of Vietnam, South Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos were represented. The Geneva Conference established peace in Vietnam and approved an armistice agreement according to which, until the holding of a general election to reunite Vietnam, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the South Vietnam authorities would administer the northern and southern regions of the country respectively, the frontier between them being along the 17th parallel. It was only the refusal of the U.S. and the South Vietnam authorities to fulfil the Geneva Agreement that prevented the holding of general elections in July 1956, as provided for in the agreement. Today the Vietnamese people are continuing their struggle for the peaceful reunification of the country.

The case with China is quite different. The Taiwan question is not one of those that remained unsettled after the Second World War. Taiwan belongs to China and has already been returned to China. The fact of the return of Taiwan to China was recognized by a number of states, including the U.S. It was only the interference of U.S. Government in Chinese internal affairs, the seizure of Taiwan by U.S. forces and their protection of the Chiang Kai-shek gang that have up to now prevented the liberation of Taiwan. If U.S. armed forces had not seized the island, the Taiwan problem would have been settled long ago.

Thus we see that U.S. attempts to put an internal Chinese problem on the same level as the temporary partition of Germany, Korea and Vietnam in order to hide their plans for the formation of "two Chinas" will not stand up to any criticism.

III

U.S. political intrigues are not confined to the spreading of the clumsy theories described above. In the course of the Sino-American talks that have been going on in Geneva since August 1, 1955, between the two countries at ambassadorial level, the U.S.A. has been employing all sorts of tricks to compel China to recognize the existence of "two Chinas." In September 1955, after an agreement had been reached on the repatriation of citizens of both sides and the participants had begun to discuss the second item on the agenda, that is, other practical disputes, the U.S. refused to withdraw its troops from Taiwan and at the same time insisted that China renounce the use of force in that region. This U.S. proposal amounted practically to a demand to recognize the further enslavement of Taiwan by the United States and its conversion into another "China" as a protectorate of the U.S. The Chinese People's Republic naturally could not agree to that.

U.S. attempts to deceive China into recognizing the existence of "two Chinas" met with the rebuff they deserved right from the very beginning.

Recently, U.S. ruling circles have, through their satellites and sometimes on their own behalf, been trying to create a situation in various international scientific, cultural and other organizations that would permit the representation of "two Chinas." It will be remembered that the U.S. made use of this trick during the organization of the 16th Olympic Games in November 1956 and at the conference of the Bureau of the Special Committee for the International Geophysical Year in June 1957. At first both these bodies invited the corresponding Chinese

national organizations to take part in the work as full members of both these organizations. The Chinese national organizations began work on their contributions. Later, on U.S. instructions, both these bodies, violating their own statutes, also invited Taiwan. By so doing, they placed Taiwan and China on an equal footing. This could not but be firmly rejected by the Chinese Olympic Committee and the Chinese National Committee for the International Geophysical Year. Both committees were compelled to leave the international organizations and cease their activities in them.

In these two cases the U.S. hid its efforts to ensure the appearance of "two Chinas" in the international organizations behind the backs of other delegations. At the recent 19th Conference of the International Red Cross — that is, of an organization founded to deal with humanitarian problems — the Americans came out openly to impose the idea of "two Chinas." The Chinese People's Government and the Chinese Red Cross Society sent their delegations to the conference. The U.S. delegate, disregarding the protests of other countries, impudently demanded the acceptance of his baseless proposal that delegates from the Chiang Kai-shek gang that has installed itself on Taiwan should be invited as representatives of the so-called Chinese Republic.

The U.S. delegate succeeded in getting his proposal accepted. The voting was 62 for, 44 against with 16 abstaining. Thirteen delegations did not participate in the voting. Thus it turned out that there were actually less for the U.S. proposal than those disapproving of it. Immediately the U.S. proposal was accepted, the head of the Chinese delegation announced that his delegation could not, under any circumstances, tolerate U.S. intrigues

designed to establish "two Chinas," and left the conference. Madame Kaur, Chairman of the conference and head of the Indian delegation, also left the hall accompanied by the whole delegation of the Indian Red Cross. They were followed by 30 more delegations—those of the U.S.S.R. and the other socialist countries and 18 Asian and African countries. Such was the reply of China and of the countries that support her just position. The United States suffered a serious political and moral defeat.

Although U.S. attempts to set up "two Chinas" are everywhere unsuccessful, it is not to be supposed that the U.S. rulers have dropped the idea. On the contrary, they will use every opportunity, either themselves, or through their followers, to prepare the ground for further attempts of this kind. This will be the general line of U.S. policy towards China. The struggle against any attempt to establish the theory of "two Chinas," no matter where it be made, is, therefore, of the greatest importance. In addition to those countries and those politicians that willingly follow the lead of U.S. policy, there are those who support the idea of "two Chinas" but who do not wish to stand in the way of China while at the same time not wanting to give offence to the U.S. These people believe that by means of a compromise, by an agreement on "two Chinas," reconciliation is possible and one may sleep peacefully.

There are also well-meaning people who are misled. They assume that if China can enter international organizations and participate in international conferences despite the intrigues of the U.S., it will facilitate China's struggle to drive out the illegal representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek gang. This, however, is a dangerous

road that the Chinese people cannot accept. Compromise with the aggressor can only serve to whet his appetite, and the participation in international conferences of representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek gang, long since cast on the scrap heap of history by the Chinese people, alongside the true representatives of the Chinese people will not facilitate the struggle against "two Chinas" but will, on the contrary, help make the "two Chinas" an established fact.

There is only one China in the world — the Chinese People's Republic, and Taiwan is only part of its territory. To assume that in addition to this China which represents the entire Chinese people some other "China" can exist, is only to accept the bait offered by the United States which is so hostile to China. One of the two must be chosen. There is no middle way.

IV

Thus we see that the Chinese Government and the Chinese people have adopted a firm and unchanging position in their struggle against U.S. attempts to create "two Chinas." The fact that it is impossible for the Chinese People's Republic to participate in any international conference or organization cannot make it recognize the seizure of Taiwan by the United States as legal. Nor will the Chinese people allow the appearance of a second "China" at any international conference or in any international organization in which representatives of the Chinese People's Republic participate. China will not participate in any international conference, organization or undertaking in which representatives of the Taiwan local authorities are participating, no matter what name

they may call themselves—Chinese republic, Taiwan government, Taiwan authorities or anything else. The fact that People's China will be temporarily prevented from participating in international conferences, organizations and undertakings in which it could otherwise have participated will not cause it the slightest loss. On the contrary, the loss will be that of the conferences, organizations and undertakings that cannot have the importance they would have with the participation of 600 million Chinese.

Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the Chinese People's Republic, in his speech at the 3rd Session of the First National People's Congress on June 28, 1956, said: "International organizations and conferences are only one means of effecting international exchanges and contacts. China will not find it any more difficult to expand its contacts and connections with other countries because of its being excluded from international organizations and conferences." Although the Chinese People's Republic is temporarily deprived of the possibility of participating in such organizations, conferences and undertakings, it is successfully developing politically, economically and culturally and the 600 million Chinese people do not live badly; as hitherto, they will take an active part, in various ways, in international life and make their contribution to the cause of peace by participating in regional measures and by effecting bilateral and multilateral contacts.

New China is taking giant steps forward along the road of progress. The time when the U.S. could do as it wished with China has gone for ever. Nor will the Americans ever be able to implement their plans for the creation of "two Chinas." The just struggle of the Chinese people

against U.S. attempts to enslave Taiwan and create "two Chinas" enjoys the fraternal support of their great ally, the Soviet Union, and all other socialist countries. This struggle also enjoys the powerful support, and has earned the friendly sympathy, of our great neighbour India and of a number of Asian and African countries. No matter how cunning the United States may be in its efforts to seize Taiwan, the Chinese people are able to recognize, expose and defeat its plans. As these U.S. plans are exposed an ever-growing number of countries will realize their significance and will raise their voices in protest. There can be no doubt that the increased efforts of the U.S. to get the "two Chinas" recognized will end in failure, in the same way as all their past aggressive intrigues against China have failed.

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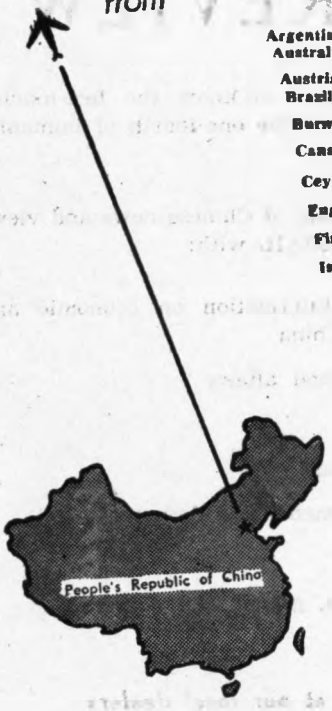

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